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## GIPSIES IN DENMARK



# GIPSIES IN DENMARK

A SOCIAL-BIOLOGICAL STUDY

BY

ERIK D. BARTELS

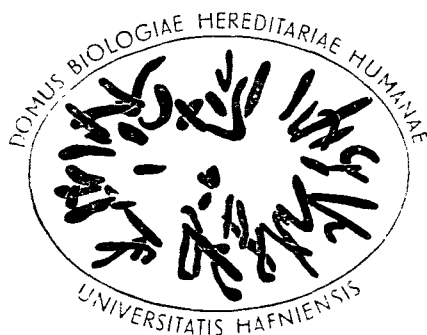
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WITH 5 PHOTOGRAPHS IN 3 PLATES  
AND 10 TABLES OF PEDIGREES



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## PREFACE

The work here presented has been carried out in the University Institute for Human Genetics. We want to thank Tage Kemp M.D., the chief of the Institute, for the good working conditions offered us there, and for the great interest he has displayed in our work.

The greater part of the material that we have made the basis of our work proceeds from the record office of the 3rd Corporation Department of the Municipality of Copenhagen. And we thank Director N. P. Nielsen, chief of the Department, for the favour he has done us by allowing us to avail ourselves of it.

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We return our respectful thanks to all these institutions and persons.



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*Tagensvej 14*

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THE AUTHORS

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The investigation, the results of which will be presented in the following, has its origin in some observations made by the public aid authorities of the city of Copenhagen. These authorities had noted a few families who from the point of view of the practical municipal officer were remarkable for the following three leading qualities:

1. Living to a great extent on public aid. Whenever a member of one of these families reached the age of 18, the person in question was sure to be found among the petitioners for some form or other of relief. However, it was characteristic for most of these people that during summer they practically managed for themselves by travelling about the country plying their different trades.
2. Special housing conditions and special trades. Hardly any of the members known by us of these families had a fixed abode or regular employment. They lived in caravan waggons, tents, and allotment huts. Some lived as pedlars or by collecting refuse from dust-bins and dumping-grounds (in Danish called "Klunsen"), others travelled about the country to fairs either with merry-go-rounds and swing-boats, or exhibiting certain tricks such as acrobatics, exhibition of animals, "fire-eating," and the like. Some earned a livelihood by begging and singing in the court-yards. A few were skilled musicians and managed now and then to get engagement in small public houses.
3. A certain outlandish stamp, manifesting itself partly in a somewhat southern appearance, partly in the peculiar and very florid names given to their children.

The public aid authorities of the city of Copenhagen having the impression that the peculiarities of these families might be due to hereditarily conditioned defects they applied to the University Institute for Human Genetics with a request for a further investigation of their conditions.

From the side of the public aid authorities the supposition was advanced that in the people in question there was a great deal of gipsy-blood. This supposition proved to be right, as the families were identical with two of those described by Johan Miskow, the late investigator and friend of the gipsies. Here we were in other words confronted with the last Danish lingerer of an age-old, European problem, the gipsy problem, which is besides closely connected with the whole question of vagabonds and vagrants.

It is very interesting to note the close accordance between the opinions of the modern Copenhagen municipal officer concerning the gipsies: A life of vagabondage, sponging on the community, outlandishness, and those uttered by his medieval and later European colleagues. The only difference is that the latter extended the list of vices of the race by adding violence and severe criminality together with various monstrosities based on superstitions, which are nowadays extinct within the government, but which are nevertheless still alive in the population, even so much so that they give the female gipsies rather good incomes as fortune-tellers.

Before we proceed to a discussion of the examined families it is necessary that we should fully realize the main features of the history of the gipsies, both in order to be able to define what is understood by a gipsy and in order to learn from the experiences of previous generations and modern foreign authorities respecting this race. Further it is necessary to have at least a brief knowledge of the whole problem of vagrants with special reference to Danish conditions, as one is otherwise liable to confound the different groups within the motley crowd that through generations has fought its way along the roads of Denmark, particularly of Jutland.

These points being cleared up we shall have the background for the events of modern times in Denmark, and also we shall have a possibility of giving our opinion as to methods for and prospects of a solution of the problems.

## CHAPTER II

# THE HISTORY OF THE GIPSIES OUTSIDE SCANDINAVIA UNTIL ABOUT YEAR 1900

About year 1400, when the population of Western and Northern Europe had settled down after the migrations, and the civilization of the Middle Ages was in full flower, a new tribe suddenly turned up. From South-East it moved in small groups into the civilized states, and its chiefs declared that it belonged to the province of "Egypt Minor," and that on account of offences against religion it had been obliged to go on a pilgrimage.

At first this explanation gained credence being in perfect harmony with the mode of thinking and feeling of the Middle Ages. The foreigners were met with a kind welcome, and everywhere they received charitable donations from the towns and from private persons. But according as they advanced and became better known, the tide of feeling changed. They were regarded more and more as a public nuisance, and, as will be shown later, the authorities began to take measures for getting rid of them again.

The story of the starting point for their wanderings was believed no longer. Now people began to wonder where this tribe really belonged. Opinions as to their home differed greatly, as may be seen from the numerous names given to this wandering people. In Spain they are called Gitanos (Egyptians) or Flamencos (Flemings), in France Bohémiens (Bohemians). Presumably the two latter names indicate the road of immigration. The English use the term of Gipsies (Egyptians), the German Jews Yischme'ëlim (Arabs, Rotwelsch: Smælem), the Scandinavians Tatere (Tartars). The practical Dutch content themselves with the racially neutral Heiden (Heathens). The

most wide-spread name, Zigeuner (Czech: cigán, Hungarian: cigány, Roumanian: cigan, Italian: zingaro) is derived from a Greek word *τσιγγανος*, the origin of which is obscure. Some particularly imaginative investigators have connected it with Ceylon, but this view was relinquished long ago. Others have considered it to be derived from Herodot's name for a Balkan people, Sigynnai, others again from the name of a Christian sect in Asia Minor, the Athinganes. Some have claimed it to be but an imitative word, alluding to the musical accomplishments of the people. Brønddal proposes the word to be regarded as a derivation from the Turkish *çygan*, poor.

The scientific theories varied correspondingly, and at a certain period within the Age of Enlightenment the investigators were most inclined to think that these people were not a foreign tribe, but a gang of native tramps.

However, about 1775 a Hungarian clergyman made a peculiar discovery. He had been studying at Leyden, where some university friend from the Malabar coast had taught him an Indian language. On his return to Hungary it appeared that the gipsies understood most of his Indian words. After this discovery the study of the gipsy language was commenced, and thus it became possible to trace the native place of the people with comparatively great accuracy. By adding literary sources to the knowledge thus gained it has further been possible to clear up its history in broad outline.

The native place of this people is India, more particularly no doubt the western parts of the Himalayas, and not the Gangetic valley, as supposed by some investigators. This also explains the fact that they set out towards the inhospitable West, instead of going towards the more luxuriant Central and Southern India. Brønddal and Miskow use about them the expression of the "Savoyards of India," with a view to their place of origin and trades.

The nucleus of the gipsy language is then a North-west Indian dialect, but with an admixture of words common with Persian, Armenian, and Koordish, besides the European elements, which will be mentioned later. These words may be loan-words, and in case they are, they indicate the road along which the main part of the gipsies have wandered. But in the case of the Asiatic words they may also point towards a common nucleus of the languages.

As to the time of emigration nothing can be said on the basis

of the language, because the development of the dialects is so uneven that a form of pronunciation that is nowadays extinct in one dialect may very well be fully alive in another.

With regard to the literary transmissions the first account of a people that is most likely identical with the gipsies is found in a work by the Persian writer Firdausi (about 1000 A.C.). Curiously enough this narrative accords exactly with all subsequent accounts; it even corresponds almost word for word to Maria Theresia's experiences, as will be shown later. It runs as follows: King Bahram-Gur, who lived about 420 A.C., called in Luris (also in our days the Persian name for gipsies) from India in order that they should serve him as musicians. He supplied them with land, houses, seed-corn, and live stock. But in the course of a very short time they had eaten the corn and the cattle, and had started wandering. Then the king gave up the experiment of colonization and drove them out of his kingdom.

After that the fate of the gipsies is unknown for several centuries. Whether some of them crossed the borders of Egypt on their wanderings is not known, but we know that the country of "Egypt Minor" never existed. At a rather early period they came to the Balkans, where they settled chiefly in the Venetian parts of Greece (Peloponese and Corfu). From there we have a. o. a renewal of a license issued in 1398, from which it appears that the gipsies had been living in the country for many generations. In Wallachia the existence of gipsies can be demonstrated between 1240 and 1300. That the Balkans were for rather a long time the place of residence of this people we find proved also in the language, which contains an admixture of numerous Greek and South Slav elements.

We know nothing certain about the circumstances that made them set out on their wanderings again towards West and North. There may be a grain of truth in the stories about offences against religion; but the most likely cause is probably to be sought in a Turkish pressure. To this should be remarked, however, that on the whole the gipsies managed well under Turkish rule, for originally they were not Christians.

In 1415 they turned up in Transylvania and Hungary, and already in 1417 they had reached the Hanseatic towns on the Baltic. Gradually they advanced into nearly all European countries. In



the main the conduct of the rulers to the invaders was everywhere the same: after a short period of kindness and leniency they went to the other extreme and regarded the gipsies rather as mischievous animals, which ought to be rooted out by fire and sword.

The cause of this to all appearance absurdly violent reaction is not so difficult to understand, when we take into consideration the time at which it took place. It was soon found out that the gipsy morals did not quite answer the pious pilgrims' stories, which o. a. had procured them letters of safe-conduct from the Emperor Sigismund. They pilfered and robbed wherever they appeared, and besides they were concerned with various kinds of sorcery, fortune-telling, conjuration and the like. They got a reputation for immorality and for being the spies of the Turks in Christendom. The time a pilgrimage ought to last had elapsed long ago, and yet the gipsy gangs were still roaming about. Then it was determined to get rid of them, and one after another the countries issued orders of expulsion against them, and threatened with death and tortures, if they did not obey.

The fact that during the following 300 to 400 years these orders had to be enforced time after time shows how totally ineffectual they were. By the end of the 18th century, when Europe became more humane in its views, the impossibility of getting rid of the gipsies was a length admitted, and accordingly new methods were introduced, which aimed at making them settle and assimilate with the society in which they lived. But such experiments have not answered the purpose either; and although the problem has to a certain extent changed its outer form, it is still found in numerous countries even to-day. It has so far proved impossible to transform the primitive nomadic people into public-spirited, stable citizens.

In the following the history of the gipsies in the different countries will be told in brief. Only of the large gipsy population in the old, Hungarian crown-lands a more detailed account will be given, because it is particularly interesting by having preserved the original character of the tribe right down to the present times, and because its history shows the different phases of the efforts of the authorities in a particularly interesting way.

In *Germany* the first decree ordering banishment of the gipsies was issued by Maximilian I in 1500. It was often enforced, and numerous gipsies were mutilated

or had to end their lives in places of execution. Later on also milder methods were applied, but their results are better told together with the description of the gipsy question in modern times.

To *Italy* the "Zingari" came in 1442. Here in the mother country of the church the Catholic clergy very soon saw through the pious airs and provided orders of expulsion.

In *France* a tribe consisting of several thousands of members turned up in 1447. As usual they moved about in many-coloured processions led by their chiefs ("dukes," "kings"), who were generally mounted and wore splendid clothes. For 5 years all went comparatively well. But in 1452 they sacked the village of Cheppe near Chalons sur Marne. This made the peasants join together and disperse them. In the first half of the 16th century numerous edicts against them were issued, culminating in hardness in 1561. Louis XIII and Louis XIV caused them to be pursued to the very letter by fire and sword, and they did it so thoroughly that only a very small number were left among the Basques of the Pyrenees. In 1802 the local prefect found that even these few survivors were too many, for which reason he made a battue, and when they were caught, he sailed them to Africa, where they were landed.

From *England* and *Scotland* we are told that in 1505 James I sent a gipsy gang to his kinsman Hans, King of Denmark and Norway, because "Denmark is within a less distance from Egypt, and among the subjects of the Danish king there are found Egyptians," probably a mistake for the Norwegian Laplanders. What became of the troupe is unknown. Later on Henry VIII, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth legislated against the gipsies. But their Draconic orders were never carried into effect, so that the people got on well here and is said in the 18th century to have reached a number of 100,000.

Of the *Scandinavian conditions* a special account will be given in another chapter. Here we shall only briefly tell that in Sweden the gipsies were mentioned in 1512, in Finland 1559, and that Kristian III legislated against them in 1536.

The first account of *Spanish gipsies* dates back to 1447. In 1492 Ferdinand the Catholic issued an edict against gipsies, Moors, and Jews, and in 1633 Philip IV forbade them to use the gipsy language. In 1783 the government swung round, however. Charles III issued his edict of toleration, which gave the gipsies a right to ply a trade and hold an office on level terms with all others. This has here brought about a partial dissolution of the language and the customs of the tribe. But in point of morals it is said to have made them rather worse, and they have kept up their life of vagabondage.

To *Poland* and *Russia* the gipsies came in the 16th century. Here they got on comparatively well, and during the reign of Catherine II many of them gave up their life of vagabondage and settled on the crown-lands.

The conditions of the gipsies in *Transylvania* and *Hungary* have been closely investigated by Wlislöcki, who for several years travelled about with various tribes in order to study their peculiar customs and psychology. He was, however, not a biologist, but an ethnologist and

folklorist, so that apart from a detached remark that epilepsy is said to occur very seldom among them, his works contain but very little of medical interest. On the other hand they contain a wealth of historical and cultural information.

On the large, thinly populated, South-easterly European plains and in the desolate Transylvanian mountains the primitive gipsies found excellent conditions of life. At first they were given in the charge of special officials, who, however, left them alone to a rather great extent. Very early those in power used them as armsmiths, and besides for the less pleasant job of executioners and their assistants. Already then there were further among them many skilled musicians.

During the period of the Turkish wars this people had a grand time. They lived just as they pleased, which means that they led a life so vicious and immoral that even the Sultan, who used to be very broad-minded in that respect, felt induced to take action and issue orders limiting their doings. We must, however, bear in mind the incredible brutality of the time and of the local population; and when in the works of Wlislöcki we read about the punishments that 200 years later the Hungarian grandees inflicted on their serfs even for petty offences, our judgement of the behaviour of the lower classes of society must instinctively be less rigid.

The consequences of the Turkish war vanished gradually. The Government in Vienna secured a firmer hold of the matters, and a. o. they tried in different ways to get at the vagrancy of the gipsies. As usual they began with hard orders of expulsion, but they present nothing of particular interest. The attempts of Maria Theresia and Joseph II at getting at the evil were on a larger scale. Besides they are very singular by the intentionally eugenic arrangements they contain.

Maria Theresia's first attempt was in 1761. She ordered as follows: 1) The name of gipsy is to be abolished and replaced by the word Neubauer, Neubanater, or Neuungarer. 2) The gipsies shall settle in the by the Turkish wars depopulated Banat, where they will be provided with land, cottages, seed-corn, and cattle at the public expense. As no "Neubanater" appeared voluntarily, she had a couple of hundreds of them caught—however, only to make once more the experiences of King Bahram-Gur 1300 years previously.

They settled for some time, eat the corn and the cattle, and then they ran away. Some of them were caught again, however, and this time they accepted their fate. They settled in the place, and under the name of "Neuungarn" they led a comparatively civil life, yet not more so than that they always caused the local authorities a great deal of trouble.

In 1767 Maria Theresia made her next vigorous effort. An order was issued that all gipsy children should be taken from their parents and given to "Christian" citizens or peasants for education. The Government paid for the children's board and clothing. Further it was forbidden gipsies to intermarry. But every gipsy girl "well educated in the Catholic faith" who married a non-gipsy received from the government 50 fl. for her portion. Large amounts were spent in this manner, and the gipsies knew how to take advantage of the decision as to the dowry. But the result was very poor.

In 1783 Joseph II made a final attempt at getting to the bottom of the gipsy problem. He issued special regulations to the following effect:

Gipsy children are not allowed to run about naked, and they must in good time be kept to attending school and church.

From their fourth year of age the children should at least every alternate year be distributed among families in the neighbouring parishes for the sake of variety in their education. The adults are not allowed to wander. Even gipsies in permanent residence may only under special circumstances visit fairs. Horse-dealing is not allowed. It is forbidden them under pain of corporal punishment to use the gipsy language.

The parish council is to watch over their conduct and report it to the authorities. Besides it must see that they are kept to regular work.

The result was absolutely negative. Houses were built for the gipsies, but they preferred to live in huts outside the houses, or spend the nights in the open air. The children were provided with clothes, but they sold them as soon as possible and then ran about naked as before. The gipsies were kept to work and worked rather hard, as long as they were superintended, but no sooner had the superintendent turned his back than they sat down under a tree chatting.

Gradually the authorities gave it all up, and after a few well-intended, but futile attempts from the side of the church and private religious persons at establishing schools and educational institutions, the gipsies were finally left alone to lead their favourite life of vagabondage.

At the time of Wlislöcki (1880-1890) there were in Transylvania-Hungary about 80,000 gipsies. The majority were illiterates, about 15,000 spoke only the gipsy language.

They fall into 2 groups, the settled and the wandering gipsies. The former group may again be divided into two categories, namely those who live as wood-labourers and gold-washers, and those who keep on the outskirts of the towns, where they earn a livelihood as petty artisans and musicians. The latter come from the "Neuungarer" and from people who have been expelled from the wandering tribes. They are much despised both by the population and by their wandering brethren, by whom they are called "the poor in language," because they have only preserved very little of their original language and customs. This phenomenon, the contempt for those in permanent residence, in part half-breed or quarter-breed gipsies, is a general feature, as will be seen later in the description of the present social position of the gipsies.

The greatest interest is attached to the proper, wandering gipsies, because they show us the people in their natural state. Originally there were 7 different tribes in the territory in question. Each tribe wandered in a body. As, however, the police would not in the long run tolerate such large collected groups of gipsies, they had to divide into smaller units with the family as centre. 3 of the tribes have disappeared in the course of time, having either slipped out across the frontiers, or settled down among those in permanent residence.

The remaining 4 tribes speak the gipsy language with small variations of dialect. They prefer marriages with people from their own tribe, and they will on no account allow a member of their tribe to marry a person that does not belong to the wandering gipsies, whether a non-gipsy or a resident person of their own race.

The women are the backbone of the tribe. As soon as a man has married, he belongs to the family of his wife, whereas the reverse never occurs. If a married woman dies, her children remain with

her relatives. The man cannot marry a woman of the same family, so if he remarries, he passes on to the new family. Most of the work rests on the woman, just as is the case among all other gipsies. The old women are high in reputation. But the officials and chiefs of the tribes are male, however.

In point of religion the gipsies profess many different creeds. Here as elsewhere they seem to be rather indifferent, yet they seem to possess, besides the official religion, a rather well-developed demonology, manifesting itself by various peculiar customs. In the Middle Ages various stories of excesses in this field were afloat (cannibalism etc.); but according to Wlislöcki they were due to exaggerations and a lacking knowledge of the real facts.

Emotionally the strongest tie is between mother and children. Every gipsy woman takes a pride in having as many children as possible, and she bears the most self-sacrificing love to them.

Conjugal fidelity seems to be the principal rule among the wandering gipsies both here and elsewhere in the world. But the husband does not in the least trouble about providing for his family. He leaves that to his wife and his children.

The trades are the usual among gipsies: Music, performances, trading, particularly horse-dealing, handicraft. Moreover here under these rather free conditions, gathering of fruits, roots, and the like in the woods.

How the present gipsies stand with regard to criminality does not appear from Wlislöcki's very kindly description, but this question has been elucidated through other sources (see chapter V). Breaking of the tribal laws is punished by expulsion for a limited period or for life. The existence of the half-settled, but socially very objectionable half-breed population is greatly due to this fact, because such an outcast is thrown upon the dregs of society.

Among the gipsies there is found rather a great deal of popular poetry, but as to further particulars both of this poetry and of other questions of interest we refer to Wlislöcki.

In recent times the history of the gipsies in Western Europe is marked by dissolution of the ancient tribes and tribal laws, a fact which has brought about the development of a large population consisting of a mixture of gipsies and the proper population of the various countries. As under such circumstances the non-gipsy gene-

rally proceeds from the lowest order of society, even as a rule from vagabonding or in other ways asocial circles, we must here give a general idea of the origin of the latter, in other words we must recapitulate the history of the problem of vagrants. This will be done in chapter III. Next we shall in chapter V give an account of the gipsy problem, as it is in our days, and further we shall discuss the very important question, the answer to which has hitherto been taken as a matter of course: What is actually understood by a gipsy? What are the criteria indicating whether a person belongs to the tribe or not?

### CHAPTER III

## THE HISTORY OF THE PROBLEM OF VAGRANTS, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO DANISH CONDITIONS

History shows that as long as there have been organized societies in the world there have also been individuals who in some way or other refuse to submit to the laws of these societies, either actively by committing crimes, or passively by neglecting to fulfill the natural duties of the citizen. Some of these have always had a permanent residence, in so far as they had and still have resort in the very poorest quarters of the towns and the villages, respectively the poor-houses. But typical for this group as a whole has always been its very loose attachment to the so-called domicile, and the connecting link between its various elements was always the homeless vagabond.

Accordingly, in studying in broad outline the history of the asocial elements, it is just that we should place the problem of vagrants in the centre. However, the object of this chapter is not to give a but approximately exhaustive description of the conditions in all European countries, but only to advance some general remarks supplemented with a few, particularly enlightening features, and a more detailed account of the vagrants in Denmark.

Generally speaking we may say that in the European countries there are two kinds of vagrants besides the gipsies:

1. A class descending from vagabonds and criminals, whose members are from birth familiarized with the life of the highway.
2. A chance, more loosely connected crowd consisting of a variety of different individuals.

Probably class 1 has originally developed from class 2. and no doubt



the former class still receives contributions from the latter. On the other hand it occurs now and then that born vagabonds get married into settled families.

Many different circumstances in the changing historical epochs have contributed to sending people on the tramp for a shorter or longer period of their life. But there can hardly be any doubt that the question whether they continue their life of vagabondage, respectively are admitted to the regular vagabond families, has always depended on the congenital mentality of each single person, if we look at the problem as a whole and leave a broad margin for exceptions. Ritter has made (in 1942) the following schematic classification of people displaying asocial behaviour:

1. *People who on account of a predisposition are external to society.*
  - A. Members of certain families and groups of people within a society, whose social views differ from those of the majority (in Ritter's opinion more primitive, underdeveloped), but who cannot be reckoned among the psychopaths, the imbecile, or the lunatics, because they present no real defects.
  - B. Abnormal individuals, psychopaths, imbecile, certain slightly insane persons, etc.
2. *People who on account of unfortunate circumstances have become external to society.*

With due reservation with regard to the numerous transitional cases due to various combined causes, it seems to us that this classification should be borne in mind during the discussion following next, partly because it gives us a table in the columns of which the almost innumerable causes of vagabondizing can find their place, partly because it tells us to what we should attach importance socially in our considerations of the problem.

Without taking too much account of the chronological order, we shall mention a number of causes that in former days drove people away from their native place.

Sentences of outlawry were not uncommon and naturally involved that the person sentenced had to vagabondize.

The Catholic church declared munificence and the giving of much alms to be in a particular degree acceptable to God, with the result that people in distress and mendicant friars swarmed all over

the country. Close upon the heels of the deserving poor there followed a crowd of proper vagabonds, who took advantage of the innocence and charity of the population, all kinds of beggars, unsuccessful undergraduates, real criminals.

In times when the idea of insurance was unknown such catastrophes as fire, famine, and war could in the course of a very short time ruin a family and reduce it to beggary.

The dregs of discarded men from the army of lansquenets, executioner's men, and their women contributed largely to the group of vagabonds.

More or less honest wandering pedlars, Jew hawkers, and artisans were found in large numbers, in spite of the efforts of the guilds to get rid of them.

One way out of society was of special importance to Danish conditions, because especially this way led to the development of the Danish class of regular vagrants, whereas it seems to have been less important in Germany and Norway. It is the fact that certain occupations were regarded as dishonest, and as such they had a kind of contaminating influence on those having them, so that these people were actually expelled from the society of better-class people. The contamination was transferred to their conjugal partners and their children. Nobody would have them as apprentices, and nobody would marry them, so that they had to follow the footsteps of their fathers, and marry descendants of people having similar occupations, or vagabonds, who did not trouble about bourgeois respectability. The occupations in question were first of all those connected with the gallows and the place of execution. However, in the course of time the situation as executioner was exempted from this stamp of dishonesty and instead surrounded by a certain fearful respect. Next there was scavenging in the towns, further removal of carcasses and flaying of animals dead from accident or disease, gelding of horses and boars, and finally chimney-sweeping. All this was the work of executioner's men (*Rakkere*) or "nightmen." A lively description of this "dishonesty," its contamination and dismal importance is given in the works of Hugo Matthiesen, to which we refer. Here we shall only point out that in Denmark these people got to constitute a special, fixed group within the large crowd of vagrants, the group of "nightmen" (in Danish also called: "*Kæltringer*").

We have not investigated further, how the class of regular vagrants has developed in other countries. However, Ritter says that with regard to Germany the causes are unknown, and Sundt supposes immigration to be the cause in Norway. But the main point is that they existed and to some extent still exist everywhere. In all countries they have developed a specific thieves' cant (Argot, Slang, Rotwelsch, Rodi.) Unlike the gipsy language, Rommany, they are distinguished by being distinctly artificial, composed of words from many different languages, a. o. Hebrew and Rommany together with a number of artificially produced words. Their grammatical rules are those of the national language of the country in question; thus f. i. the "Kæltring Latin" of the Jutlandish "nightmen" is spoken with Jutlandish grammar.

As to the relation between these various vagrants and the gipsies we have rather good information from South-west Germany (Ritter) and from Norway (Sundt.)

As pointed out in the description of Wlislöcki's observations from Transylvania, the tribal laws of the gipsies insist on it that no gipsy is allowed to marry a non-gipsy, and conjugal fidelity seems to be the rule among genuine wandering gipsies. In Ritter's opinion the same is true of the gipsies living in Germany.

There have, however, always existed persons expelled from the tribes, who have mixed with other vagrants, generally in the manner that native vagabond women begot children by gipsies, whereas the reverse occurred less frequently. The result was a mixed race (German: Mekesen, from *mixtus*), which was perfectly uncritical with regard to choice of conjugal partner or cohabitant. Another reason why connections between gipsies and other people developed in former days is that gipsy children who in infancy were taken away from their parents grew up without knowing their parentage. Ritter has made out that in the 18th century  $\frac{5}{6}$  of all gipsy marriages were contracted between genuine gipsies, whereas  $\frac{1}{6}$  were contracted between gipsies and natives. Later, after the repeal of the strict laws against the gipsies, there were a far greater number of mixed marriages, a. o. because begging is generally more profitable for a fair woman than for a gipsy woman, and accordingly it paid for the gipsy to marry such a woman.

Ritter has (1937) investigated what has become of the descen-

dants of this mixed population from about 1700 to our days. Indeed, the touch of gipsy blood in these families seems to be rather small, but still the investigation is of great interest in a methodological respect and on account of certain experiences educed from it concerning the relations of asocial families to the community. Accordingly we shall here give a further account of it.

The author's interest in the problems was awakened by his observing some children manifesting a special form of imbecility, which will be mentioned later. By tracing back their family he found out that they descended from the previously mentioned population of regular vagabonds, which was in full flower about 1700 and had already then been in existence for at least 100 years. That which makes this investigation so interesting is, however, that he did not stop here, but traced the vagabond families down to our days, seeking out as far as possible all descendants, after which he made a complete pedigree for each of these families. Thus was produced an extremely noteworthy material comprising no less than 20,000 persons.

The importance of the complete list of descendants may be seen directly. For if we had remained at the first stage, at which the family of the defective children had been traced back to the eldest vagabond couple, we might have concluded that the unfortunate qualities of this couple were so strong that they worked through numerous generations. Such conclusions have been drawn f. i. at the publication of the families of Kallikak, Yukes, Zero, a. o. But on studying the complete list of descendants it is seen that most of these individuals are exceedingly decent and respectable. Only a few lines have carried on the unfortunate qualities of their ancestors, and why?

The studies of the pedigrees give an answer to this question. For it appears that the individuals manifesting vagabond qualities are the issue of constantly repeated marriages into other vagabond families and gipsy families, whereas the others are the offspring of vagabond descendants in their marriage with members of settled families.

Of other interesting features at this investigation we shall mention the following: First the demonstration of the fact that in Germany there are still found descendants of the criminals and the vagabonds from the time of the Thirty Years' War, who have preserved

their qualities rather unaltered, though of course the changing times have compelled them to a somewhat changed mode of living. A. o. many of them have dived into the lowest classes of society in the cities. Consequently we may in our opinion be justified in concluding that these qualities rest on a genetic foundation, because they are preserved at intermarriage, whereas they disappear at crossings with normal individuals.

Secondly it is pointed out that at the most favourable possible alliances, i. e. at marriages into as healthy and stable families as possible, it will take 3 or 4 generations before the descendants of a single, hereditarily asocial married couple become perfectly social. In such families it happens sometimes that some few individuals relapse after many generations and show a tendency to committing crimes or to vagabondage, which, when the proper connection is unknown, is diagnosed as sudden, motiveless psychopathy.

The rate of assimilation is increased, if the family is transplanted to a different milieu several times during the process. This has some connection with a circumstance that is of the greatest importance to the maintenance of the lowest proletariat, and particularly to the maintenance of the families of vagabonds and gipsies. In places, where such people are well known, their reputation is generally so bad that only the socially lowest classes will associate with them. This means that the choice of conjugal partners is very small, consisting as a matter of fact only of people of the same descent as their own. If they move to another place, where their name and native surroundings are unknown, they have a better chance of being admitted to more respectable circles and get married with more stable individuals. It may happen that after the contracting of the marriage the first generation makes itself impossible in the new place so that the name becomes notorious there. But then a change to yet another milieu will make it possible for the next generation to start afresh in a third place, and so on.

The social position of such a vagabond family is actually a characteristic example of the interaction of disposition and outer conditions of living, in so far as it shows how the milieu of the parents influences the hereditary composition of the offspring. To grow up in a colony of criminals and bear a name of ill repute are outer circumstances: yet they bring about that the individuals in

question are debarred from getting conjugal partners who are not subject to the same conditions of living. Consequently they are thrown upon such persons as will most likely add their share to the bad dispositions of the children.

In other words we may learn from Ritter's investigation that hereditarily asocial families do not arise as descendants of some few worthless individuals, but they proceed from whole asocial populations. Conversely it may be said that the social prognosis of such a family depends on the genetic composition of the individuals married into the family. Consequently it is of the greatest interest to examine, whether these individuals proceed from the ordinary settled population or from asocial families.

Numerous investigations in Germany and Switzerland confirm Ritter's findings and show the existence of an on genotypical basis continued, asocial element in the population. Sundt's and Scharffenberg's Norwegian findings seem to prove the same with regard to Norway, but will be mentioned later, as will also the works of Ritter and others on gipsies in Germany. In this place we shall give a description of the conditions in Denmark, only the account of the gipsies will be put off till chapters IV and VI.

The origin of vagrancy is probably the same in Denmark as in other European countries. Stories of vagabonds, robbers, beggars, and outlaws go as far back as the ancient myths. Gradually as impetus was given to the cultivation of the country, the loose elements of the population were concentrated in the area that had undergone the least development, i. e. the Jutlandish heath. Of course vagabonds were also found on the Danish Islands, but only in Jutland they were a real nuisance. In the pathless tracts of Jutland with great distances between farms and towns great and little malefactors had ample opportunities of finding hiding places. Apart from a few small enclaves, f. i. on Lolland, Jutland is also towards modern times the place where the regular vagrants are to be found. The development of vagabondism has been described by several writers, in greatest detail by Dyrland. We shall not give any further account of it, but jump right into the heart of the matter and examine the conditions about 1800. As a starting point we shall take Hugo Matthiesen's lively description in the chapter: *Wheel Tracks*, of his book: *Den sorte Jvde*.

He who in those days undertook a journey through the Jutlandish heath, would often on his way meet a motley crowd being about in more or less lawful businesses. In the first place there were a large number of natives of Jutland, who by various trades tried to add to their scanty income from the poor soil: drovers of bullocks, swine, and geese on their way towards Holstein with their herds; horse-dealers, potters, people selling lime from their waggons, wheelwrights, wooden-shoe makers, hosiers, etc., and further young men and girls on their way towards South-Jutland to try for a situation. But also more outlandish tradespeople were seen: Funen and German hop-sellers, Holstein tradesmen, Italians, Bohemians, Saxons with fancy articles, "hair tradesmen," who bought up hair for the making of wigs, kettle-sellers from Brabant and Flensburg, canvas-dealers and pedlars, Fredericia Jews, and many others. Among the members of the last-mentioned group there were no doubt a great many whose doings would not bear too close an inspection. But these people did not actually sponge on the community. The same cannot be said about the large number of foreign beggars, foreigners with false passports, discarded horsemen, foot soldiers, and sailors, journeymen on tramp, the so-called "Turkish prisoners," who claimed to have been taken prisoners in Turkey and for that reason asked for alms, old, discarded, bearded, Norwegian warriors, who went under the name of "Nordbagger" (Norweegees), and finally the gipsies and the „nightmen." Before passing on to a review of this last-mentioned, interesting category, we shall mention that smuggling prevailed largely across the absurd Konge Aa frontier. But generally those who carried on this business were otherwise honourable people.

Through the descriptions of our writers, especially of Blicher, Goldschmidt, and Carit Etlar, gipsies and "nightmen" have been surrounded by a certain romantic nimbus, and no doubt most people have in their imagination formed a picture of something savage-looking and outlandish. The sober facts differ a great deal from that picture, however.

"Tater" is in Scandinavian law language simply the word for gipsy and is used consistently in that sense right down to 1897, wherever the laws mention the race, whereas "nightman" (or *Kæltring*) is the name for a definite class of native vagrants. Thus the

distinction is plain enough formally, but in practice it proved impossible to distinguish between these two kinds of people, especially during the latter years of the existence of "nightmen." This brought about that numerous persons without one single drop of gipsy blood in them went under the name of "Tater."

The race of "nightmen" constituted in Dyrhund's opinion, based on the number of imprisonments within a series of years, about  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the Jutlandish vagrants and numbered about 300 to 400 individuals. The delimitation of the group is difficult; but the central point of all definitions is this that it was a group of people who descended from wandering parents, and who from birth so to speak were destined to a life of vagabondage. In other words it was a group exactly parallel to the Norwegian "Fanter" and the previously mentioned German population of vagabonds.

According to their occupation it was possible during the latter years of the existence of the evil (thus at the Jutlandish Diet 1836) to divide them into proper "nightmen" and "glaziers." The former were partly resident, in so far as they often possessed a hut in a certain parish or on the skirts of a town. They carried out the work of "nightmen" for the parish or district in which they lived, i. e. scavenging, flaying of animals dead from accident or disease, gelding of horses and boars, chimney-sweeping, etc., in other words "dishonest" trades. The "glaziers" went about doing primitive glazing and tinsmithing, tinkering, and the like, besides carrying on some petty trading. They all asked alms, and many of them pilfered, whenever they had a chance, and even sometimes committed violences, which were, however, never of a very serious nature.

At the time of the Diet this distinction was regarded as ethnographically conditioned, a view that was also held by Dyrhund. But H. P. Hansen's recent investigations have shown that it is wrong. According to the view formerly held the difference between these two peoples should be this that the "glaziers" should descend from a mixture of native and German vagrants on one side and genuine gipsies on the other, whereas the "nightmen" should have little or no gipsy blood in their veins. Even at the time when stress was laid on the distinction between the two elements, it was clear to everybody that they had intimate intercourse with each other. The "nightmen's" huts were places of refuge for the "glaziers," and in-



termarriages between the two groups were quite common. As pointed out by H. P. Hansen it was in the interest of the "glaziers" to maintain the fiction of the distinction mentioned above. For in 1836 the aversion to the "dishonest" occupations was far from extinct, and, as we have seen in the preceding, one of the greatest drawbacks of the "dishonesty" was that it contaminated the whole family. The "glazing" being an honest trade it was made easier for those practicing it to keep up their civil position, when they denied all connection with the "dishonest" "nightmen."

The prevailing idea of the origin of these people was then that they descended from Danish and German vagabonds, and had a not quite small touch of gipsy blood. Also the discovery of their secret language, the Rotwelsch, noted down by Dorph, Adjunkt (secondary school teacher) in Viborg, contributed to this conclusion. The Rotwelsch is a typical "Gauener" language (thieves' cant), one of the artificial languages mentioned in the preceding. The majority of the words of this language are German, but besides there are numerous Jewish and about 50 gipsy words. The syntax is Jutlandish, and deficiencies are made up by Jutlandish words. We shall not here enter on a further discussion on this language, but refer to Dyrhund and H. P. Hansen. Only we shall mention that in all likelihood Dorph's notes contain words which have probably never been known by the ordinary, Jutlandish "Kæltring." H. P. Hansen has noted down a language derived from one of the last "nightmen," which is more likely to cover the language actually spoken, and which contains only 2 gipsy words and no Jewish words. As into the bargain, with knowledge of Dorph's sources, it is easily explainable how the large number of gipsy words have entered into the notes, their presence there cannot be taken as a proof of the interrelationship of "nightmen" and gipsies.

In order to get to the very bottom of the question about the origin of the race of "nightmen" H. P. Hansen has tried systematically to trace up as many families of "nightmen" as possible and as far back as the archival sources go. In the case of a few families other writers, as f. i. Gaardbo and Lidegaard have proceeded in the same manner. They all of them arrived at the result that neither gipsies nor any other foreign elements can be demonstrated in the pedigrees. The investigations go back to 1700 = 40 years, and we

may probably be justified in concluding that gipsies were not found in the families before that time either. We have no proof of the existence of gipsies in Scandinavia before 1512, and the period from that year till the time of the first ancestors of H. P. Hansen's proposition is hardly long enough for a complete assimilation to have taken place. People of those days had a quick eye for the gipsies, and a member of this persecuted race would most likely have left his mark in the old documents. The names of the families of "nightmen" are all Danish, whereas the Danish gipsies, as far as we know them, have foreign names. This alone is a strong indication in favour of a lacking connection. To this we may remark, however, that the Norwegian gipsies have purely Norwegian names. H. P. Hansen has devoted a special interest to the individuals who according to the above-mentioned writers should be marked by the gipsy blood. Also in these cases the theory proved to be wrong. Moreover the writers' statements of the "oriental" exterior of the "nightmen" do not accord with the extant official descriptions.

The first ancestors of the "nightmen" are often rather difficult to find. Not infrequently they seem to have been discarded soldiers, executioner's men, or restless people belonging to the race of peasants.

The class of "nightmen" is now extinct. It seems to have been merged easily in the rural population, gradually as Jutland was cultivated and the popular education made progress. It does not, like the corresponding groups in Germany, form the asocial part of the population, nor is it, like in Norway, fused with the gipsies into a new and worse race of vagabonds.

When we have here given such a detailed account of the class, it is due to two circumstances:

1. The class of "nightmen" has no connection whatever with gipsies. Consequently their power of total assimilation tells us nothing as to whether gipsies have got the same power. The lacking gipsy blood in the class of "nightmen" shows us that the gipsies were hardly to any great extent resident in Denmark in former days, as, according to experiences from other countries, they would otherwise no doubt have entered connections with the "nightmen."
2. Here we have to do with a typical asocial race of vagabonds, who

were as external to the community as the German and the Norwegian vagabonds, but who have in spite of that become completely assimilated, and, as far as can be made out, even without any detrimental effect on the population. This calls for some caution with regard to taking too drastic eugenic measures in the case of such people.

About the remaining vagrants in Denmark there is not much to be said. They have not left any trace in history, so probably they have either returned to the country from where they came, or have established themselves somewhere or other, or they may have ended their days in prison or in slavery. Presumably they all belonged to group 1B and group 2 in the table of asocial individuals.

CHAPTER IV

GIPSIES IN SCANDINAVIA UP TO  
MODERN TIMES.  
DANISH GIPSY LAWS

The first precise statement of the presence of gipsies in Scandinavia is found in Olai Petri Svenska Krönika (Olai Petri's Swedish Chronicle), which says as follows (year 1512): "Samma år her Steen war höffvitzman worden, kom en part aff thet folket som fara om kring ifrå thet ena landet til thet andra, them man kallar Tatare, hijt i landet, och til Stocholm, förre hadhe the aldrigh her warit." (In the year in which Steen had become headman, some of the people who travel about from one country to the other, and who are called gipsies came to this country, and to Stockholm. They had never been here before.) Indeed, in 1505 James I had, as already told, sent to King Hans a troupe of gipsies; but their fate is unknown.

In Denmark the first evidence of the existence of gipsies is found in Christian III's first Copenhagen recess from Oct. 30, 1536. In this recess orders are given that all gipsies found in the kingdom should be expelled with 3 months' notice.

At what time this people appeared in Norway cannot be said exactly, but probably their appearance here coincided with their entrance into Sweden.

From Finland we have the first report of gipsies in 1559, when a gang was expelled from the Åland Islands.

There are somewhat varying opinions as to the roads by which they have entered Scandinavia. All investigators agree to the fact that the Danish gipsies have come from the South through Jutland or by the islands of Lolland and Falster. But Sundt took the view

that the Swedish and the Norwegian gipsies had reached their present home via Russia and Finland. He based this view on the occurrence of Finnish and Russian loan-words in the Norwegian gipsy language. Later, however, Thesleff advanced a number of conclusive arguments against Sundt's theory and in favour of the supposition that also the gipsies of Norway, Sweden, and Finland have come from the South through Denmark or North Germany, a few perhaps from Scotland, but none from Russia. Thesleff's arguments were as follows: 1. The Swedish and Finnish gipsy language contains no Russian and but a few Finnish words, whereas it is marked somewhat by Low German and Scandinavian. 2. Both in the past and in modern times the Finnish gipsies have nearly all of them had Swedish names. 3. Occasionally Finnish gipsies have connection with Norwegian and Swedish gipsies, but never with Russian. 4. Russian gipsies hardly ever travel in Finland. 5. The gipsy gangs captured in Finland in the 16th and the 17th centuries were always expelled to Sweden, never to Russia, not even when captured in Eastern Carelia. It is naturally difficult to say now how it happened that Sundt found Russian loan-words in the Norwegian gipsy language. A likely explanation is this that his informants as to this point have deceived him, as it occurs so very often to investigators of gipsy life.

Also in modern times we have examples of gipsies having wandered from Denmark to Sweden (cf. family VII and family VIII).

To our knowledge there is not yet found a proper collective account of the development of gipsyism in Sweden. But through a survey given by Thesleff and through some recent articles in the Scanian press a number of main features have been brought out.

The view held by the legislative power and the public authorities of this nomadic people has been much the same as that held by the Scandinavian sister nations. At first the tribes were treated extremely rigorously, later with greater leniency. From the 18th century on the existence of a native gipsy population in the country has been officially acknowledged.

Thesleff was of opinion that he had demonstrated two kinds of gipsies in Sweden, viz. partly a rather great mixed population, living chiefly on the Hallandsaas, and speaking a very mixed Rommany language, partly 100 to 200 pure gipsies speaking a Basque gipsy language, and being probably descended from tribes that had immi-

grated very late. Johan Miskow knew a number of Swedish gipsy families. He travelled about with them a few times in summer, and they came to see him in Denmark. They were far more primitive than the Danish gipsies, living exclusively in tents and having preserved rather a great number of ancient tribal laws.

In "Betänkande med Förslag till Lag om Arbetsfostran m. m." (Dictum with a proposal for a law on training for work etc.) 1939, there is found an examination of 120 male and 54 female workhouse prisoners, the latter being for the greater part prostitutes. 7 of the men and 2 of the women are characterized as gipsies, in other words a rather large fraction. About the men it is remarked that unlike the other prisoners they have many children.

The newspaper articles mentioned above show that there are found numerous gipsies in Scane, in Malmö alone about 300. As to conduct they seem to be a mixture of the Danish and the Norwegian gipsies. Like the Danish they have made for the towns, where they have become a burden to the public aid authorities, but like the Norwegian they are far more criminal and have a far greater difficulty in assimilating than the Danish gipsies. However, a more detailed account is said to be forthcoming of the entire Swedish gipsy question, for which reason a further mention of it in this place seems unnecessary.

As to Finland's gipsy conditions, which have been unravelled by Thesleff, it is natural to describe them in connection with those of Sweden, since the Finnish tribe, as stated above, must be regarded as the extremest offshoot from the Swedish. About year 1900 it counted about 2000 members grouped in families. In the general each family wandered about within only 2 or 3 districts; a few of them travelled further, however. They were very pure-blood and anthropologically extremely characteristic. Their state of health was good, and it is expressly remarked that insanity was practically unknown among them. But there were found a few epileptics. Their intellect and power of apprehension was good, but they were extremely shy of manual work. They stayed about with the peasants, not in tents. Their occupations were those of horse-dealing, horse-gelding, fortune-telling, quackery, begging, and stealing, but not performances, playing of music, tinkering, nor smithing. Most often they lived in concubinage, but were loyal to the partner as long as the

connection lasted. The affection for the children was conspicuous also among these gipsies. They were completely atheistic, and Thesleff is of opinion that these tribes never had any religion. The Finnish gipsies were sober except at festivals. They were generally friendly and sociable, but quick to flare up. Towards strangers they were absolutely unreliable, but to kinsmen they never uttered a lie. Most of them were of a melancholy nature. There was a great deal of criminality among them, their favourite crime being that of horse-stealing.

As to the present mode of living of the tribe of gipsies in Finland nothing is known to us, but presumably it is not much different from what it was.

The gipsy conditions in Norway are particularly well-known, thanks to Sundt about the middle of the past century and Scharffenberg in this century. But of their early history we know only very little. We are reduced to trace it through the laws, which, however, in the main follow those of Denmark, for which reason we shall not quote them here.

On account of the great distances and the numerous uninhabited mountainous tracts, which have always rendered difficult the control of the magistrates, Norway has from ancient times been the resort of a large number of tramps and different kinds of malefactors. Here too there developed a regular class of vagrants, the so-called "Fanter." ("Fant" is a Scandinavian word, originally used about the messengers and letter-carriers of grandees and bishops, but later, via the sense of "stranger," "traveller," got to denote a tramp.) They were mentioned a. o. by Erik Pontoppidan in the National History of Norway from 1752. But further particulars as to their conditions are not available till 1845-50, when Sundt, with the support of the government commenced his investigation. There was a wide chasm between this class of tramps and the proper population of the country; how wide is perhaps best seen by the fact that when at length in 1845 they were counted in at a census, they were not included in the general population, but the number was settled at 1,328,471 persons and 1145 "Fanter."

Sundt demonstrated that the group of "Fanter" descended from two ethnographically totally different elements, viz. the so-called "Storvandring" (great vagrants) or "Rommanisæl," genuine gip-

sies, and "Smaaavandringer" (small vagrants) or "Skøjere," tramps of native origin. Originally the Scandinavian gipsies spoke the Rommany language, which is identical with the gipsy language as it is known from other parts of the world, only with the difference that it has an admixture of Finnish and Russian words. The "Skøjere" spoke the Rodi language, a variety of Rotwelsch, and closely related to the Jutlandish described by Dorph.

There seems originally to have been a rather marked distinction between these two kinds of vagrants. They fought each other, and the gipsies lived according to ancient tribal customs. Gradually as the customs of the country grew more lenient and the persecution of the gipsies less sanguinary, the distinction vanished, however, and at the time of Sundt's investigations the two classes were in a fair way to fuse into one. Also the languages were mixed up, so that but few of these people could still speak the pure Rommany language. The united vagrants divided the country between them in such a manner that there were roughly speaking 3 districts, each reserved for certain companies of "Fanter."

This joining seems to have caused the community as a whole a great deal of trouble. For previously at least the gipsies had been living according to definite tribal laws demanding a. o. a certain morality and order among them. The united group of "Fanter" is completely amoral; its moral and social conduct is described in the darkest colours.

The "Storvandringer" earned a livelihood chiefly as smiths, "veterinary surgeons" (with very imperfect knowledge), and horse-dealers (with many tricks.) The greatest work was, however, done by women, who took advantage of the superstition of the peasants to all kinds of "magic art." Moreover there was a great deal of begging, by which they were aggressive, almost menacing. The gipsies loved a certain outward splendour; they were often elegantly dressed and wore many jewels. The "Smaaavandringer" lived mostly by petty trading, tinkering, horse-gelding, and the like. Their behaviour was less pregnant, but they were equally aggressive in their begging.

There was a great deal of criminality among the "Fanter," especially stealing and acts of violence. Acts of passion seem to have been of daily occurrence among them. Their begging in out-of-the-



way places often had the character of robbing, and they were often guilty of wanton damage. As mentioned above their moral conduct was almost indescribable; frequent changes of conjugal partners, bigamy, etc. were common phenomena, and dramas of jealousy were regularly enacted. A strange feature recurring in all such groups of people is the inclination of young men to live together with rather old women. In Norway men in this situation explained to Sundt that they kept up these connections, because then the chance of getting offspring was smaller. But here as elsewhere the proper reason was no doubt this that elderly experienced beggar women can better provide for their men than the young. As mentioned before, in all vagabond populations the greater part of the burden of maintenance rests on the woman. Venereal diseases are said to have prevailed among the "Fanter."

The existing vagrancy acts were absolutely ineffective. Besides, the great distances and the superstitions of the peasants made it difficult to fight the evil. During the following years attempts were made, on the basis of Sundt's results, at various measures against "Fant-ism." Sundt published some reports, which showed a few favourable results. But it proved impossible to get rid of the evil. In 1930 Scharffenberg gave an account of the conduct of the "Fanter" in our days. This account, which comprises descendants now living of the families described by Sundt, shows us that all in all the situation is much the same as about 1850, that at least there is no change to the better in the asocial conduct and the marked criminality of the "Fanter," and finally that the descendants of gypsies are still by far the most dangerous of them. Scharffenberg is of opinion that only the most drastic eugenic measures will be effective against the evil.

He who on the basis of literature wants to form a picture of the gypsies in Denmark will soon be at a loss for material. For whereas there are a great many laws dealing with gipsyism, the number of gipsy cases described is very small. Dyrlund, who is a very thorough investigator, and who seems to have rummaged the archives in search of cases belonging here, reports only 9 concrete cases, in which gypsies are mentioned. If these cases are examined further, two of them prove to be purely literary evidences, and one a mere nursery tale about a foundling. Thus we have 6 concrete cases left. Only two cases state anything about the real origin of those impli-

cated. It appears that one of the seized gangs comprises a. o. 3 discarded sailors, and that the women of the other gang are the offspring of sailors. Thus none of the persons mentioned were gipsies. Whether there were a few gipsies in such gangs, cannot now be made out; but it is not likely that the main stock of the troupes should have been gipsy tribes, because we know from other countries that real gipsies did not admit strangers to their societies. H. P. Hansen has been kind enough to inform us that he too has not one single time in the course of his comprehensive investigations met with gipsies in the documents and church registers of the kingdom.

A comparison between this scarcity and the abundance of "nightman" cases makes the whole thing even more striking. In our opinion there is only one explanation to this fact. The gipsies were never till the present times resident in Denmark. This explains why they are not mentioned in the documents. But they often visited the country in larger or smaller groups, exactly as they did it at a much later time, even as late as 1897. This explains the abundance of statutory provisions.

Naturally we cannot deny it that in the course of the 300 years during which period we do not know all details about their doings in this country, some gipsy or other may have had an illegitimate child by one of the daughters of the country. But even if it did happen, it was so seldom that it had no effect on any group of the population. The lacking connection of the "nightmen" with the gipsies is actually the best proof that this hypothesis is correct. On the rare occasions when the government seized gipsies, the punishment of the men was in reality always convict labour for life or banishment, and that of the women immediate banishment. Consequently they did not either have a chance of multiplying the race in Denmark.

In the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein there seems to have been a number of resident gipsies; at any rate the families to be described in this treatise have for a few generations been living there. After having perused the descriptions of gipsies in the old lists of criminals from this tract, we are, however, inclined to think that the families of the persons mentioned did not live there earlier than about 1750, because many are stated to have themselves been born more southerly, or to have connections towards the South.

About 1825-1850 there took place a small immigration into Denmark of 8 to 10 gipsy families, who, as mentioned before, all came from Schleswig and Holstein. At first they only made raids into Denmark, but gradually their connection with the country got a more permanent character. It is from these tribes that our proposition descend, and in chapter VI they will be described further. In this place we shall only mention that according to the above statement they are probably the first of their tribe to have had a permanent residence within the present boundaries of Denmark, and that they are the only Danish persons now living with real gipsy blood in their veins. In our days they have to a great extent mixed with non-gipsies, but that is a different thing, the effects of which will be pointed out later.

In the following we shall give an account of the changing gipsy acts in Denmark and of the present legal status of the gipsies.

As mentioned in the preceding Christian III's recess of 1536 ordered expulsion of alle gipsies. This order was enforced in 1554, 1561, 1570, and 1574. Gipsies that were seized should according to the provisions be brought to Copenhagen to work on the Bremerholm. In 1589 the barbarous rule was introduced that whenever a gang of gipsies was fallen in with, the chief should be executed immediately, and the other members should be expelled from the country under menace of capital punishment, if they returned. In 1615 and 1643 the laws were enforced again. In Christian V's Danish Law (1683) gipsies are mentioned twice. In 3-11-8 it says as follows:

“Skipper eller Færgemand, som indfører her i Riget, eller flytter over et Færgested til et andet, nogen Tater, have forbrut Skibet hand haver at fore og sin halve Boeslod.” (Shipmaster or ferryman who conveys into this kingdom, or takes across from one ferry to another any gipsy, has forfeited the ship he sails and half his share.)

In 3-20-3 it says as follows:

“Tatere som omlobe og besvige Folk med deris Bedrageri, Løgn, Tyveri og Troldom, skulle af Stædets Øvrighed paagribis, hvor de kunde befindis, og alt hvis de have med at fare dennem fratagis, og deris Anførere paa Livet straffis og de andre inden vis Tid at romme Riget fra næste Steder de kunde udkomme, og hvis de efter den Tid sporges, eller overkommis, kunde her i Riget, da som deris Anførere at straffis paa Livet, og hvo dennem huser eller herberger, bode til

sit Herskab for hver Nat og for hver Person, som den der huser fredløse." (Gipsies who stroll about defrauding people with their cheating, lying, stealing, and conjuring, shall be seized, wherever they may be found, by the magistrates of the place, and all that they carry about with them shall be taken from them, and their chiefs shall be punished by death, and the others shall within a certain time leave the kingdom from the nearest place where they can get out, and if after that time they are heard of or met with in this country, they shall like their chiefs be punished by death, and he who shelters or harbours them shall pay a fine to his masters for each night and each person, just as he who harbours outlaws.)

To the praise of the Danish government it should be said that to our knowledge no person was ever executed in this country merely because he was a gipsy. In Norway, where the same rules were in force, two men, who, indeed, were not gipsies, but had given themselves out as such, were executed in 1737 according to the section in the law, simply because the magistrates in their irresolution as to their treatment could find no other expedient. In 1691, 1701 the law was enforced in various decrees.

From Sept. 24, 1708 there was a change of course in the attitude of the government towards the gipsies. For section 13 of "Decree on Beggars in Denmark, Copenhagen Excepted" says about gipsies that they shall be banished from the kingdom, after their possessions have been taken from them. If they remain in the country, they shall be committed to rasp-house. He who harbours them shall pay fines. In other words a considerable alleviation of the provision in the Danish Law.

After that the civil legislation did not occupy itself with gipsies until 1875. In the meantime gipsies with Danish denizenship had of course by the Danish Constitution (Grundloven) of 1849 become equalized with all other Danish citizens, and that is still the case with them. Act No. 52 of May 15, 1875, section 1, article 2 (the act of control over foreigners and travellers etc. does not deal with them either, but with their foreign kinsmen. It says as follows: "Foreign gipsies, musicians, showmen exhibiting animals and other things, performers of feats of strength and dexterity, and similar persons are not, in so far as they want to earn a livelihood by the trades of vagrancy, allowed to settle in this country. Likewise ad-

mittance to the country is denied other foreign persons in search of work, if they are not able to prove their identity by a document issued by a public authority." The necessity of keeping this rule was enforced in the "Circular from the Ministry of Justice to all Police Authorities Oct. 8, 1897": "As the attention of the Ministry of Justice through various cases submitted to the same has been directed to the fact that the provisions contained in act No. 52 of May 15, 1875 of control over foreigners and travellers etc., concerning foreign gipsies are not everywhere closely observed, the necessity of strictly maintaining the in the aforesaid act in such respects given directions is hereby enforced on the police authorities, whereafter it is categorically forbidden members of foreign gipsy companies to settle in this country, cf. the circular of the Ministry of Dec. 19, 1879 (gives a definition of the persons other than gipsies that come within the act)—just as they, if notwithstanding they may have come into the country, by the directions of the police will be to expel from hence under observation of the rules of the above-mentioned act. It is added that the above provisions are in force, no matter whether the persons concerned may have obtained fraudulently permit books in this country, in which case these books shall be taken from them. Finally by issuance and viséing of permit books the police authorities are requested to see to it that the foreigner in question is not a gipsy, as in case he is he shall be treated according to the foregoing."

These rules are still in force. With a view to the state of the public funds they are highly expedient, as will be shown later; and at any rate from the point of view of the ratepayers it is to be hoped that the police authorities are zealous in this part of their discharge of office.

Besides in the above-mentioned civil laws gipsies are mentioned in Christian V's Articles of War of 1683. According to these articles they are forbidden admittance to the army. But a statement from 1686 says that already then there were found gipsies in the army off Stralsund. Even though the description given (several companies) is hardly correct, there may very well be a nucleus of truth in it. In the 18th century not a few gipsies were put into the army of enlisted soldiers, partly as ordinary soldiers or musicians, partly as spies. The gipsies themselves were fond of the coloured uniform,

and they are said to have been rather good soldiers under war conditions. But in times of peace they had great difficulty in submitting to the discipline, and desertions were quite common. There is reason to believe that the first ancestor of one of the Danish families was a soldier, and that he may have become enlisted, while the regiment concerned was "lent out" to wars in Hungary.

## CHAPTER V

### GIPSIES IN OUR DAYS. WHAT IS UNDERSTOOD BY A GIPSY?

The greater part of the very comprehensive gipsy literature is folkloristic and historical. Only in Norway and Germany they seem to have assumed social-biological and psychiatric points of view regarding the doings of this people. Especially in Germany a number of works have been published of late years, which partly show that here is a real gipsy problem, and partly illustrate this from different angles. In the centre of the German gipsy literature we have the works of Ritter, based mainly on comprehensive genealogical studies. Without the general view of the matter thus attained, the value of which is increased by the author's clearness and sense for systematization, it would have been very difficult altogether to approach the problems. Grouped round Ritter there are a number of investigators, who each have examined a few gipsy families or small gipsy populations, in some cases without knowing that they were gipsies, as they paid attention exclusively to the asociality of the families. On the other hand it has been found out that a number of families that were previously taken to be gipsies, are in reality descendants of native vagabonds.

As mentioned in the preceding the treatment of the gipsies in Germany has, like in other countries, fluctuated from experiments of expulsion and extermination, by experiments of settling, of educating, of taking the children from their parents, etc. to a complete equality of rights during the days of the Republic. Now they have come within the racial laws according to the same rules as apply to the Jews. However, the authorities are still endeavouring to find a final, satisfactory solution of the question.

When a social-biologist wants to approach a subject like the present, the first question that suggests itself to him is, how to define the notion of a gipsy. There is great uncertainty as to this question, several definitions being possible. Consequently each investigator must fully realize, how the group examined by him is constituted, and he must account for it in his work. Only on this condition is it possible to compare his results with those of other investigators.

When the gipsies came to Europe they had already been wandering for several hundreds of years and had been in contact with numerous peoples on their way. Consequently there had been no small possibility of an admixture of non-Indian elements; and besides we do not know, whether at the outset from their native place they constituted a unit or were composed of different tribes. In consideration of these facts we might expect to find differences between the different groups of the gipsy people. And indeed, if we look at members of gipsy tribes from different countries, they prove to differ a great deal in outward appearance. All the gipsies bear the stamp of "foreigner;" but apparently there is no unific anthropologic characteristic for the different groups. This seems to indicate an admixture of foreign blood. For it is evident that a quarter-gipsy with f. i. three quarters of South-French blood will seem to us in Denmark just as foreign as a full-blooded gipsy, but will have very little in common with a corresponding, perhaps also foreign-looking man, with three quarters of Danish blood in his veins.

On the other hand we must admit that for the present we have no real basis for a determination of the anthropologic distinguishing marks of the original gipsies, because it has only for the last few years been tried by other means to define the notion of a gipsy. Not till we have collected a sufficiently large material of people from different countries, who for historical reasons should be regarded as pure gipsies, we may give an opinion as to whether these people have common anthropologic characteristics. By the way Ritter mentions, how an anthropologic sub-group may be imagined to develop within the gipsy people without any considerable admixture of foreign elements. If we imagine that a small number of persons, possibly from the beginning not quite pure, or among whom there may be some with particularly characteristic, hereditarily conditioned pe-



cularities, are isolated in a tract, and on account of their tribal laws multiply exclusively by intermarriages, their offspring will in the course of time get a unific stamp different from that of other gipsies.

Another difficulty in applying the anthropology for the definition of gipsies arises by the numerous marriages into white families taking place nowadays. While, as we have seen, 200 years ago only 1/6 of the gipsies had sexual connection with non-gipsies, a complete change has occurred within the last 100 years. Thus Ritter is of opinion that there are nowadays in Germany a few thousand pure and 30 to 40 thousand mixed gipsies. The latter differ greatly both as to appearance and psyche.

For the time being the anthropology is then of but little aid. This need not, however, be due to our lack of knowledge, but might be explained by the fact that the notion of a "pure gipsy," even though we understand by that simply a descendant of the first immigrants into Europe, under Central European conditions was a fiction. For the conclusion that the gipsies now living belong to the same people as those originally immigrated has so far been drawn exclusively on the basis of the fact that ever since 1417 we have had knowledge of the presence of a people of vagrants in Europe. This might, however, have even two other explanations:

1. The vagrants now living may descend in part from gipsies, but the majority descend from native vagabonds.
2. The vagrants now living belong to families quite different from the original. The latter have gradually become completely assimilated; but from the large "gipsy reservoir" in South-eastern Europe fresh groups have constantly been flocking into Germany.

Both hypotheses can be disproved by genealogical studies, and so they have also been to the full. In Germany there has always been a distinction between gipsies and other vagabonds, also in church registers and judgement-papers. Thus it may be seen that intermarriages within the gipsy families prevailed until recent times, and the direct line from the gipsies of previous times to those of modern times may be traced up. Even the often rather comprehensive reports of the lawsuits allow of a reliable "social-biological diag-

nosis" in the case of the persons in question, and here it may be seen that their qualities by the end of the 17th century correspond exactly to those of their descendants nowadays. Thus there is no doubt that they have always constituted a unit in spite of apparent differences.

Is it then possible to use a person's relations to the community as a basis for a determination as to whether he is a gipsy or not? The answer must be no. For first there are numerous non-gipsies who live in the manner of gipsies, and secondly there are, especially in modern times, resident gipsies.

Yet there remains the demonstration of a historical and cultural connection with gipsy tribes as a means of defining the notion, and this is by Ritter regarded as the most important means. Afterwards it may be supplemented with a demonstration of outlandish appearance and fondness for certain habits of life.

Most important in this connection is the knowledge of Rommany, the ancient language of the gipsies. It is a point on which they themselves lay much stress. Of secondary importance is the commitment to their tribal laws and their knowledge of ancient legends and songs. Finally there is for the man of science the archival demonstration of descent from people with the criteria mentioned above.

Ritter has hereby given us a point of departure from which we may in each concrete case determine a person's relation to the gipsies. But this does not settle the matter with regard to the definition for practical use. The problem is how to rubricate the numerous gipsy mixtures. For the solution of this problem he proposes the following division, which seems to us to be practical, because it falls in with the observation that descendants of a hereditarily asocial married couple become social if for 3 or 4 generations they marry into normal families. The division looks as follows:

1. A gipsy is he who has at least 3 gipsies among his grandparents (coincides ostensibly with the tribal rules of the gipsies themselves.)
2. A gipsy mixture is he who among his grandparents has either one or 2 pure gipsies, or at least 2 quarter or half gipsies.

3. A non-gipsy is he who does not fulfill any of the above-mentioned conditions.

We shall make this division the basis of the investigations into our own material. Its chief weakness is that on account of the difference in the qualities of those married into the gipsy families, the mixed people present very great variations. As, however, they are practically all of them asocial, we have regarded it as unessential in this connection.

A point of importance to the validity of Ritter's argumentation is the question as to whether we can rely on the statements of paternity of the gipsies to the old church registers and judgement-papers. Ritter is of opinion that in most cases we can, and in this he is, as will be seen later, in accordance with Wlislöcki in his evidence and Sundt in his observations regarding the original "Storvandringer." On this point the tribal laws were not to be trifled with, and at least female infidelity was severely punished. This brings us on to the problem of the moral and social habitus of the gipsies, and we shall here, on the basis of literature, give an account of how it is in modern Germany.

According to Ritter a rather definite line of distinction should be drawn between the genuine tribal gipsies and the mixed people. For the latter have generally come into existence by connections with the dregs of society, and more particularly with the offspring of native vagabond families, and the result of this is a socially useless population consisting chiefly of criminals. The tribal gipsies, who live under the ancient laws, wander about living by petty trading, playing music, performing, etc. If the State is weak, so that they have a chance of gathering into large hordes, they may attempt assaults and the like, but they are otherwise not criminally disposed. They are "im Grunde mehr lästig als gefährlich."

In these latter ages many, especially many of the mixed people, have come up to the towns, where they are to be found in the poorest quarters living by begging, the trading of wife and children, stealing, and finally by taking advantage of the social laws.

In Germany the gipsies may also be divided in a somewhat different way, that is by certain tribal lines of distinction. The original German gipsy tribe called itself Sinten. It distinguished itself by

having an ear for music. The above description applies particularly to this tribe. There is no connection between the gipsies in North Germany and those in South Germany. Besides there are the Róm-gipsies (called also: lovári), who come from Hungary, live by trading, often as commercial agents travelling about in their own cars, and who are generally rather well off. They do all they can to conceal their gipsy parentage. The Kelderari (the tinkers) is a third, small group coming from South-East. In East Prussia there are found "litautikke or masurtikke Sinten." They live in permanent residence, work as field-labourers and mix with the population. It is interesting to notice that the families from which we started our investigations came from Germany, called themselves Sindis, and in their language had the words lovári and kelderasi as terms of other gipsy tribes. As also their mode of living accords well with that of the German gipsies, there is good reason to believe that they descend from the original German gipsy tribe.

R. Krämer has drawn a picture of a gipsy group developed formerly in the manner that in the 18th century the Prince of Wittgenstein-Berleburg and the city of Berleburg in Westphalia appointed some gipsies to small offices. Krämer examined their descendants in 1937, and his description, though to some extent marked by the author's particular political views, contains many interesting features. The colony is composed of the localities of Lause with 30 houses and 268 inhabitants, and Altengraben with 2 houses and 21 inhabitants. From 1834 till 1933 the number of inhabitants in Lause increased from 12 to 267 persons, whereas that of Altengraben stagnated, because until 1929 the land was the private property of the Prince, who did not allow more than 2 houses to be built. The relation between the multiplication of the gipsies and that of the other inhabitants of Berleburg is this that the gipsies, who now constitute 9 per cent of the population, will in 100 years constitute 66 per cent, provided that the development continues to be the same.

Only 11 of the 289 "gipsies" are 100 per cent pure gipsies, and 43 are more than 75 per cent, in other words scarcely  $1/5$  are gipsies in Ritter's sense of the word. 165, or scarcely  $3/5$ , are mixed gipsies, and 70, or scarcely  $1/4$ , have less than 25 per cent gipsy blood in their veins.

Intermarriage is frequent. From 1919 till 1935 35 out of 49

marriages were pure gipsy marriages. The "white" persons married into the tribe are vagabonds, work-shies, hawkers, tinkers, basket-makers, and the like. With the remaining part of the population of Berleburg there is no connection, neither by way of marriage nor by way of social intercourse. For the past 100 years the laws of the society of rifle volunteers in the city have contained the rule that no gipsy is allowed to take part in its entertainments. Nor will the wandering gipsies have anything to do with the people of the colony, whom they despise sincerely.

As to the sanitary and moral conditions it is said that the houses are extremely overcrowded and dirty. There is nothing like a bedstead for each person. The average of human life is only 26,3 years, and 20 per cent die of tuberculosis. The average number of children for women over 40 is 5.6. The death-rate of infants is 25 per cent in spite of the fact that nearly all babies are suckled. 19 per cent of all babies born are illegitimate. The average number of family members amounts only to 4.5 persons, which is due to the fact that the young in the colony marry very early thus forming a household of their own. 120, or about 45 per cent, are under 15 years of age. The excess of births is stated to have been in 1935 24.4 for gipsies, whereas in 1933 it was 3.5 in Germany as a whole. This extraordinary fecundity is mentioned by all writers who write about this people, and is found also in our Danish material, although it is not so pronounced.

With regard to their mentality the author states, on the basis of declarations given by the teachers who teach the children of the colony, that with an increasing amount of gipsy blood they develop a darker hue, and their intellect becomes more and more deficient. We cannot deny, however, that this complete accordance between hue and intellect seems to us almost too complete. In other words it should be possible to carry out on this population a colorimetric determination of intellect!

With the exception of some few "luxuriating bastards" they are work-shy and live by begging and going about selling various goods. The principle of their household economy is as follows: "If there is money we live, if there is none we starve." There are, however, among them a few who are hard-working and industrious field-labourers, or who have a small freehold. The manufacturers object to

employing them, because they are too unstable and refractory. Before the assumption of power of the National Socialism in Germany refusal to work was an everyday occurrence with them. Now they take the work offered them, because refusal involves forfeiture of the right to public relief, but as soon as ever they can they try to get unemployed again. They are stated to be extremely criminally disposed, and a list of the crimes committed by members of the colony since 1918 is enclosed. It comprises 197 items, among which there are 1 murder, 1 homicide, 1 case of continual incest, 17 cases of bodily harm, 68 cases of theft, receiving, fraud, and peculation, 72 cases of offences against the State, from fraud and resistance, to beggary. The remaining items are more scattered cases of minor offences. With their "Asiatic morals of inferior man" they are nearly all of them Communists. They are cowardly, when treated "herrisch."

During the years immediately following the Great War they had a flourishing period, because they understood with eminent skill how to take advantage of the social laws. From Nov. 1, 1931 till April 1, 1933 they received public relief to the amount of 25,120 RM. To this we should add expenses on stays in hospital, doctors, and midwifery, together with private charity, so that the total sum spent on them each year is supposed to have amounted to 50,000 RM.

Finally, as to their mentality the following characterization is given: They are extremely emotionable, thus turning easily from tenderness of heart to revengefulness and jealousy. They love dancing, music, performances of cinemas and circuses, but are not themselves particularly musical. As mentioned above they feast beyond their means, whenever they have the opportunity, and then they suck their paws the rest of the time. Against the police they keep inviolably together.

It is no wonder that the inhabitants of Berleburg are in despair at the neighbourship, and that the burgomasters have sent out cries of distress in the form of accounts of their doings.

Similar conditions were described by Mönkemöller 1907, but in this case within a single gipsy family. To us the family is of special interest, because it must be regarded as likely, although, indeed, it cannot be proved, that our family No. I descends from it. Finger has given a description of 2 families. However, only reports of his work have been accessible to us.

In Germany the campaign against the gipsy problem is divided into measures against the pure tribal gipsies and measures against the mixed populations.

The pure gipsies present no great problem, if only we realize that their mentality does not allow of their admittance to the well-ordered general society. Ritter suggests that their own tribal laws, which forbid them to marry persons outside the tribe, should be made into imperial laws, and at the same time each group should be given a certain district, within which it should be allowed to wander about and earn a livelihood by certain trades. Further certain winter-quarters should be established, and institutions founded, to which gipsies suffering undeservedly might apply for aid.

The mixed gipsies cause considerably greater difficulties. Most of them are asocial, and Ritter claims that he has never experienced anything good to have come of a crossing between a gipsy and a white person. Nor has he ever within the world of artistes found skilful people of this descent. In Ritter's opinion the first thing to be done, for the purpose of bringing order into the conditions of the mixed gipsies, should be to undertake a careful sifting, by which the worst of them should be sifted out and placed in working-camps for life. Among the others a control of the excessive multiplication should be tried. From Ritter's latest work, which does not deal with the gipsy question alone, but treats of the whole problem of the asocial families in general, we get the impression that Germany is at present contemplating the introduction of provisions of sterilization in the case of such families. It is to be supposed that at least some of the families of mixed gipsies come within these provisions.

CHAPTER VI

THE DANISH GIPSIES  
OF MODERN TIMES. ORIGIN AND  
MODE OF LIVING

The families the fates of which will be described in the following, descend from a number of married couples born between 1790 and 1820 in North Germany, most of them in Schleswig and Holstein. Their immigration into Denmark took place between 1800 and 1850. In the case of a few families we have been able to trace their ancestors as far back as one or two generations previous to the one that immigrated. These generations wandered exclusively in North Germany. Of one of the families it is known that the first ancestor probably was a soldier. In the record office we have been informed that the detachment to which he belonged, was one of the last Danish regiments that had been lent out to wars in Hungary, and quite possibly he had been enlisted down there. Generally the soldiers that returned were not the same as those who marched out. 3 or 4 of the families are known for certain to have come from the South within the period that we are capable of commanding. Their first known members were born in Mecklenburg or Hannover. We are inclined to think that the progenitors of one of these persons descended from Mönkemöller's family.

Naturally the circumstances that made them set out on their wanderings cannot now be ascertained. But after the period of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars a great purge was made among the tramps in the southern part of Germany, with the result that a large crowd of vagrants swarmed up through Holstein. As the first traces of our families are to be found in the list of prisoners taken at a police raid, which the government ordered to be made



on this account, there is some reason to suppose that these persons had formed part of the general movement.

The proof that the persons mentioned were gipsies is found in the following two circumstances, which are, besides, supported by other in themselves less important facts.

First it is known about the older members of at least 7 out of the 8 primary families that, besides Low German, which was their ordinary conversational language, they knew also the Rommany language. Some of the gipsies now living still know this language, but only in a very imperfect form.

Secondly, in the old lists of criminals from the Duchies members of 4 of these families are described as typical gipsies. It has not, however, been possible to prove the precise relationship between all the persons mentioned and our families. But as the time of their appearance agrees with the time of the immigration from the South, and as both the first names and the surnames correspond exactly to those recurring in the families, there can be no doubt about the connection.

In order to have a point of departure we have for these reasons chosen to regard the first immigrants as genuine gipsies, and next we have divided the families according to Ritter's table. There is a possibility that a few of them were half-gipsies or  $\frac{3}{4}$ -gipsies. But on account of the great number of intermarriages in the two eldest generations, we suppose it to be of less importance to those now living.

The gipsy language, as it is preserved with the oldest gipsies now living in Denmark, in other words with the second generation in this country, has been described by Brønddal on the basis of Miskow's notes. Professor Brønddal has been kind enough to inform us that Miskow's informants belong to these families, and that their statements alone, and not information from Miskow's Swedish gipsy friends, have been used at the composition of the treatise.

As to exterior most of the members of these families differ from the average of the Danish population, however, in the case of those now living of course in different degrees depending on their purity (see photos).

The families mentioned regard themselves as gipsies, or as they call it "travellers," and they divide humanity into "travellers" and

"private individuals" or "peasants". In spite of the dilution now taking place, they are still perfectly clear as to who is a "traveller" and who is a "private individual," even in the case of people who live in the same way as they themselves. We have the impression that they all know each other, or at least know of each other, although, indeed, they never spontaneously mention other members of the families to the investigator. This feature is found even in people who are very outspoken with regard to their own conditions. Apparently it is a remnant from the time when they were pursued by fire and sword. The gipsies in this country seem to have preserved but very little knowledge of the original tribal rules. A few details of which Miskow relates seem rather to be faint recollections of the accounts of the old gipsies. In this connection we must beware of a source of error. There are among them a few enterprising gipsies who, either from literature or from tales told by more primitive people, whom they have met on their wanderings, have procured information as to certain tribal customs (f. i. gipsy dances, the course of proceeding of a "gipsy wedding") in order to use them as turns in their fair-tents. We have positive knowledge of at least two of such cases in this country.

In point of religion they seem with a few exceptions to be rather indifferent. Many of them are from the time of their immigration Catholics, a feature that also points more southerly than Schleswig and Holstein.

Curiously enough they have at least one trace left of the division into tribes, and that is the fact that at any rate some of them use the term of tribe for the different families. F. i. one of our propositi said spontaneously in the course of our conversation, "Mr. such a one belongs to a tribe called III."

After the immigration 5 of the families settled in a parish in Vendsyssel on the border of a bog, protected by a forest, where they built some very primitive huts, in part dug into the ground, with no chimney but with a louver in the roof. Here they had winter-quarters, and from here they set out every spring to knock about in their various occupations until the next autumn. The huts have disappeared long ago (except one, which stood into this century, because its occupant, an old gipsy widow, would by no means leave it as long as she lived'. But some of the descendants of the

families still live in this tract, either in permanent residence or as vagrants. A branch of another family settled in a similar way in another parish in North Jutland, one in North Seeland, and two on Falster. Two families seem never to have had any fixed place of resort.

When by and by some members of the families acquired larger circuses and equestrian companies, they bought small estates, which according to Miskow were worked in the manner that they cropped the fields in spring, then they all left the estate, not to return till the harvest-time. It is not likely that this kind of farming was very profitable.

The better-off families travelled about with caravan waggons drawn by one, or, if they were particularly well off, by two horses. The others walked about with their grinding carts or working tools, music-instruments, and trading baskets.

This mode of living still goes on even to-day within the families, with the exception of a few lines, which have detached themselves.

Some branches have gradually become assimilated, and their members lead a life not differing from that of the ordinary population in this country. Most of them live in rather poor circumstances.

A few family members have become half-assimilated, in so far as they earn a livelihood by one of the age-old occupations of the gipsies, i. e. as musicians, but they are settled as musicians playing in cafés or at dances.

Some particularly gifted lines have succeeded in creating great circus enterprises, which have made possible a life in easy circumstances. Besides, one of these lines has fostered at least one, now deceased artiste, who most justly enjoyed an international reputation, and had engagements in the most fashionable music-halls all over the world. Moreover 3 or 4 smaller circuses of high standing have in the course of time been run by the families. Part of the money earned by running a circus has also in modern times been invested in estates (which are of course nowadays worked on modern Danish principles), or in small inns and hotels.

The remaining Danish gipsies, which means by far the greater number, continue, as mentioned above, the traditions of their ancestors.

Most of them prefer to live in easily movable caravan waggons. But according to the sanitary regulations only fair-travellers and artistes are allowed to use them, and only in summer. Consequently a great many are under the necessity of seeking a permanent residence. Then they try if they may live in allotment huts, and if that is not allowed them either, they move into the poorest quarters of the towns. But generally town life does not suit them. In spring they make off for the country, if they can, and if they cannot, their greatest passion is an allotment, preferably with a few domestic animals in it.

Their favourite trade is the fair-business: the running of merry-go-rounds or swing-boats, travelling about with shooting tents, grace-hoops and sticks, wheels of fortune, and the like. Some are "artistes," i. e. show some very primitive gymnastic performances, some are "contortionists," lick red-hot iron, let themselves be run over by a motor-cycle, while lying on a mattress of nails, etc. A number of all the small "Tivolis" traversing the country are owned by these people. Some families are eager musicians. Generally they walk about singing in the court-yards or playing on harmonica, violin, banjo, or on the blade of a saw.

All these occupations are nowadays pressed hard by cinemas and dancing nights in the inns. This explains probably to some extent the fact that so many gipsies have of late years made for the towns. A few of the more well-to-do among them have, however, been up to the development, in so far as they have come into possession of portable cinemas to be set up in inns and meeting-houses.

The second important occupation is that of "trading," which means going about selling goods, which are most frequently of their own making. The goods most commonly sold are things made of wire, and brushes, together with various fancy articles, paper flowers, and other such things, which sell particularly well at the various festivals. Part of the latter products they sell to the department stores. Also "The Paper of the Unemployed" is found among their articles to be sold. Horse-dealing, which in other countries is a gipsy speciality, does not seem to have belonged to the occupations of these families.

"The trading" is the occupation to which they resort, when everything else fails. Many of them ply the trading and the home

industry underlying it with great diligence and quite legitimately, others do it with a secret thought. For it has the "advantage" of being at the same time begging in a halfway camouflaged form, especially if they let women and children "go with the trading basket;" and even undisguised begging is best covered, if they bring along some article or other to show to the police. Of course it is unlawful to let children under 16 years of age run about selling goods; but that side of the matter they have never taken seriously.

The third principal occupation is grinding, which is often combined with riveting and other minor mendings of articles for use. Some of the people are said to be rather clever at it, whereas others are characterized as bad grinders. This work likewise belongs to the age-old occupations of the gipsies.

Besides these occupations, which are the most important, there are also others which are more casual and less common. "Klunsen" (gathering and selling refuse) from dustbins and dumping-grounds secures bread for rather a large number of families. Now and then the men take some workman's work besides, generally, however, of a casual and transitory nature. Very few gipsies, if they do not belong to the assimilated branches, have served their apprenticeship and become journeymen. They very easily relapse into their former life of vagabondage.

As will be seen, the gipsies cannot be characterized as lazy. Many of them even work rather hard making the various articles mentioned above etc. The characteristic thing about them is that they cannot settle down to a regular occupation with a fixed daily working time.

As to family life the members of a family hold closely together. Especially the woman feels attached to her husband and her children. A gipsy woman takes a pride in getting as many children as possible and in procuring as much as possible for the maintenance of the family. The men take the family responsibilities far easier. They are often brutal to their women, but the majority of them seem to be much attached to their children. Jealousy of the cohabitant or conjugal partner seems to be common with them. Strange to say it is our impression that at least the women are faithful to their conjugal partner, and also to the cohabitant in illegitimate connections, as long as they last. Generally the men do not take this point

so seriously ; it is not uncommon for a male gipsy to change his cohabitant several times.

The fecundity of gipsy families is here as in other countries rather great, and it does not seem to be decreasing. In this connection it is unimportant whether both conjugal partners or only one belongs to the tribe. As it is not unusual that one gipsy has had children by several different partners, it is difficult to make up the fecundity per marriage. Accordingly we have here calculated it per individual. The average fecundity per individual over 40 years of age is as follows :

In generation A: 7.3  
 In generation B: 5.0  
 In generation C: 5.8  
 In generation D: 4.7

The average fecundity per individual between 30 or 40 years of age is as follows:

In generation D: 2.0  
 In generation E: 3.0

The aggregate, average fecundity per individual over 40 years of age: 5.3.

(Number of childless individuals counted in: 28.

With regard to the general views of life of the gipsies, we shall refer to the life histories reported later. A feeling for nature and an ear for music seem to be pervading emotional features. The splendid names, with which they provide their children, often, but not always, the names of previous generations, give us a glimpse of their extraordinary mentality.

In consequence of their life of vagabondage the schooling of the children leaves much to be desired. We have in our material found a rather large number of illiterates, although, with a few exceptions, all the children have attended no end of schools. In modern times the gipsies who wander on the Danish Islands seem to make a point of it that the children fulfill as well as possible their obligation to attend school. In winter they attend school regularly in Copenhagen, and in summer they are steadily sent to school at all the villages at which the family makes a stay, be it only

for one or two days. The knowledge acquired by this manner of attending school is no doubt very problematic. The Jutlandish gipsies manage better, as they simply do not send their children to school. Dr. Wad, chief of the Hospital for Mental Defectives at Vodskov, has shown us the great kindness to visit some Jutlandish gipsy families, and he says that he met with large flocks of children who had got no school education whatever.

The state in which the homes are to be found, whether they be waggons, allotment huts, or flats, varies a great deal. Some gipsy women distinguish themselves by a marked sense for cleanliness; they keep their homes clean and tidy. Others are terribly dirty. There seems to be a certain fondness for copper things, which are kept bright and shining. The decoration with cushions and the like is marked by bright colours.

In the general the dress of the gipsies does not differ from that of the native poor population, except that they have a fancy for bright colours (apple-green sweater with a bright blue shirt and the like.) Nearly all the women wear ear-rings, and both men and women wear silver fingerrings. The women often wear large amber necklaces.

After the above remarks on the mode of living of this group of people we shall proceed to examine the conditions which may justify an investigation like the present, i. e. an investigation of their social position. So far most of the descriptions have been concerned with private matters, which may, indeed, be of some interest, because they differ so much from the habits of thinking and living of the rest of the population. But in themselves they are no business of others. But it is otherwise, if the life described impedes the functions of State or municipality. In this connection there are particularly two domains to which we must give our attention. One is their dependence on the public funds, which is the original cause why this work was started; the other is their relation to the criminal law.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE DANISH GIPSIES OF MODERN TIMES. THEIR RELATION TO THE PUBLIC RELIEF ADMINISTRATION. CRIMINALITY

The mode of living described in the preceding chapter involves that most gipsies are to be found among the poorest individuals of society. It also involves that they cannot gain admittance to trade-unions, because membership of such unions is dependent on the practicing of a definite trade. No wonder then that even a small decline in their income will at once make them apply to the office for social relief. A concurrent cause of this fact is also their innate fondness for the goods easily acquired and their lacking social ambitions. From times of old they have been used to regard begging as a natural trade, and when now the public funds will pay them money without it being attended with any disagreeable consequences to receive it, they do not see why they should make an effort to avoid burdening them. In former days, when certain disadvantages were attached to the receiving of poor-relief, most of them managed for themselves. But now that the conditions have changed, they behave quite differently. They have been very quick to acquire an understanding of the social laws, so that they are able to take the utmost advantage of them. Many of the gipsies are rather rude to the staff of the offices, when they appear with their claims; and the cheats of which their forefathers availed themselves to trick some of the products of the farms out of the peasants, have been modified by them so as to be applicable towards our social institutions. But we must add, however, that there are great differences between the members of the tribe also in this field, and that



many of them live in circumstances so poor that we cannot actually wonder at their inclination to take whatever opportunity they have of getting money.

The mode of living of the gipsies involves that in summer, when they can wander about the country, many of them manage practically without any aid. And if they now and then do receive money it only amounts to small sums from the local borough for the transportation to the next town of their waggon and their implements. But in winter, when they have to remain stationary, and their only possibility of earning money is a little trading, the average family is greatly dependent on public relief. It is a regularly recurring phenomenon, when spring draws near, that the man appears in the office to ask for a starting capital for his swing-boats or the like. Sometimes it is given him, as it is argued that he will then be able to manage for himself throughout the summer. Sometimes he meets with a refusal; but often he is seen to get his swing-boats started for all that. To give an impression of the extent to which the gipsies burden the public funds, and also of their relation to the offices for social relief, we shall in the following quote two characteristic summaries of the case records of such families, found among the archives of the administration. Many others might be added, and later we shall give an estimate of the number of persons that must be supposed to act in a similar way.

Case record No. F 1 51 794 reports of a man, now 29 years of age of family No. I. The summary goes no further than January 1938. The first time the man requested aid through the public relief administration of Copenhagen was in December 1933. He was at that time 20 years of age, and, after having travelled about the country with his parents, he had now just arrived in town. He received running relief from Dec. 16, 1933 till March 10, 1934, after which time he probably managed to earn a livelihood by playing music. On April 11, 1934 he was arrested by the police for having played in the court-yards.

In the summer of 1934 he went touring in Jutland. He returned to Copenhagen in October 1934, and again he tried to make money by his unlawful playing, for which reason he was arrested twice. From Dec. 8, 1934 till Jan. 30, 1935 he received municipal aid. As on Febr. 1, 1935 it appeared that he had not let himself be seen for

control among those in search of work, as the office for social relief had ordered him to, aid in ready money was denied him, but aid in the form of dinner-tickets was offered him instead. However, he refused to accept this kind of relief, and again took to his unlawful trade, which after 5 days resulted in arrest. On Febr. 14, 1935 he applied to the public relief administration for aid for the purchase of a dinner-jacket, urging that he could obtain engagement as a "saw-blade virtuoso." As, however, the engagement was not assured him, the request was refused.

On Febr. 28, 1935 a single week's aid was granted him. After that he earned some money partly by a single performance in a place of entertainment, which brought him in 25 Kr., partly by unlawful playing together with a brother of his. From April 2 till April 15 he again received some aid in money. It was then found out that he cohabited with an unmarried woman. On May 20 aid was appropriated him for the purchase of a clown's attire, because he was to act in his father's circus. He now travelled about the country until September 1935.

From Sept. 30 till Oct. 14 he received running relief in Copenhagen. He soon proved unwilling to follow the directions given him by the office for social relief. He failed to be seen for control, tried to make money by unlawful playing, threw away his control-ticket, and likewise threw away a new ticket of reference to the central labour exchange. An offer made him by the office for social relief of aid in kind was received with a flat refusal. On Oct. 26 the office for social relief proposed that in future the only relief granted him should be that of indoor relief, and until the proposal was accepted, some temporary relief was granted him. After that he continued his unlawful playing, on account of which he was arrested 3 times within a fortnight. Further he advanced repeated requests to the office for aid for the purchase of various articles of trade and flowers: but the requests were not complied with. On his applications in December 1935 he was exceedingly rude, a. o. he threatened one of the clerks with violence. He declared that he would not be seen for control, and that he would only take work as a musician or an artiste.

In February 1936 he again applied for relief, and he explained that he would still only be employed as a musician, and that during

the past few months he had been begging. He even had the audacity to beg of the staff of the office! In view of the statements given the resolution made previously of indoor relief was maintained.

On May 20, 1935 his case is seen to have been provided with a remark that he had applied for public relief at R.

Not till November 1937 did he again request relief in Copenhagen. On applying he explained that in 1936 he had earned about 1000 Kr. by playing, and that he had besides been selling flowers. Until May 1937 he had been living in a tent near M. and earned a livelihood by playing and selling flowers. On Oct. 2, 1937 he was married to an unmarried former house-maid, who in 1928-29 had been in the hospital for mental defectives at Bregninge, and who in 1936 had received a conditional condemnation for theft. He had been cohabiting with her during the past summer. She had then had a month's employment as a kitchen-maid.

The married couple arrived in Copenhagen on Oct. 31, 1937, probably because—as it appeared during the treatment of the case by the office for social relief—the borough of A. had on Oct. 4, 1937 referred the man to receive indoor relief in the local workhouse.. In the office for social relief the couple did not give the impression of being willing workers. On Nov. 23 an inspector found them still in bed about 1 o'clock p. m. The wife was smoking a cigarette in bed. Their home was dirty, the bed-clothes black "as earth." After having granted them some temporary relief, the office for social relief on Nov. 24, 1937 proposed that the married couple should receive indoor relief in an asylum.

The other case (F 1 40 400/34) is perhaps not quite so glaring, but it shows, as do all the gipsy cases, a series of related features. It reports of a man now 38 years of age of family No. V. Since his 18th year he had never been living for 5 years together in the same district or borough. When in April 1931, at the age of 27, he came to Copenhagen, he was married and had 4 children.

From Dec. 4, 1931 till Febr. 20, 1932 the family received outdoor relief from the relief fund. On Febr. 19, 1932 lying-in relief was given in conformity with section 34 of the poor law, on account of the birth of a daughter. From July 23 a weekly relief had to be granted, as the man, who used to earn a livelihood by selling brushes, had had no earnings whatever for the past 3 months. The reason

was that a license had been denied him on account of 3 fines for disorderly conduct in a public house, for having unlawfully gone about selling various goods, and for having driven a motorcar in a very bad condition respectively. The relief was running until Oct. 14, after which date he was for some time able to make money by trading. But from Oct. 3, 1932 till Febr. 10, 1933 he again received public relief. One of his sons was in hospital from Dec. 1, 1932 till April 18, 1934.

Again from Nov. 30, 1933 till May 16, 1934 municipal aid was granted him, as there were still some difficulties with his license, so that in December 1933 he was arrested by the police for unlawful trading. On April 16, 1934 lying-in relief was given in conformity with section 231 of the law on public relief, on account of the birth of the 6th child.

From May 16, 1934 the family travelled about with swing-boats, but in the autumn they returned to town to receive aid again from Oct. 13. During the winter the aid was regulated according to the man's earnings, as from the autumn he had owned a motorcar, purchased at 265 Kr., which he used for the selling of fish. His profits amounted to about 30 Kr. a week. In April 1935 90 Kr. were granted him for the payment of the motor tax.

From April till July he lived by dealing in fish; but as his profits went down rather much, he exchanged the motorcar for 2 bicycles on July 1, 1935, and at the same time he changed from fish to fancy articles, which he sold until Sept. 1. From Sept. 3 till Sept. 13 he earned 147 Kr. by doing some work for a contractor. This job came to an end on account of lack of work, and municipal aid was granted him from Sept. 19. From Nov. 1 till Dec. 7 he again had a job, by which he earned a total of 360 Kr. On Jan. 27, 1936 the aid was suspended, because he got a job by the demolition of a house, which brought in about 1000 Kr. in the month of May and 260 Kr. in June and July. With two other contractors he earned a total of 250 Kr. during that summer.

From August 21 till the middle of September 1936 he received relief. After that he was in work for 5 weeks at 80 Kr. per week. But he came to harm during his work and was in hospital from Nov. 18 till Nov. 24. From Nov. 18, 1936 till Jan. 28, 1937 he received a daily-pay of 2 Kr. from the sickness fund, and 21 Kr. weekly from

the accidents insurance. Was reported cured, and had one week's work at 75 Kr., after which time he received unemployment pay. From July he has received a supplemental aid for the payment of house-rent. Now he has succeeded in making a little money by "Klunsen" and by selling old newspapers.

Besides, aid has been granted for the keeping of the two youngest children in a kindergarten, at first from Oct. 4, 1937 till Jan. 4, 1938.

Thus the two cases reported here show us one man who earns a livelihood chiefly as an "artiste" or a musician, and another who lives mainly by trading. But it also shows that the former sometimes acts as a pedlar and the latter as a fair-traveller. It should be added that so much workman's work as is performed by the latter of these two is met with but rarely in the annals of these people.

It is a little difficult to ascertain the exact number of families that are in this manner dependent on public relief. Partly some families of gipsy descent may very well have escaped our attention, and partly the number varies a great deal, because every year new families are added, and old families pass out, either on account of death, or on account of transition to old age pension. Another difficulty appears by the fact that our material is derived chiefly from the public relief administration of Copenhagen, and that consequently the cases in which we know of relief administered in the provincial districts are but few. Accordingly it will be necessary to divide the families into those whose relation to the municipality is known for certain to correspond to the above remarks (group A), those who, to judge by their conduct of life, must be supposed to do so (group B), those who live in the same way, but manage for themselves (group C), and finally those who in their relation to the municipality correspond to the general population (group D). This means that a person may very well be regarded as belonging to one of the two latter groups, even if during a single period of distress, f. i. unemployment or the like, he has received a small amount in aid.

Besides, this arrangement into groups makes it possible for us to find out, how many family members there are who live in the manner described in the preceding. Their number is found by adding together groups A to C.

Our calculation comprises families I to VIII. of which we know

with certainty that no important branches can have escaped our attention, especially no social branches. We have projected in a few recently deceased, social persons.

Group A.	Group B.	Group C.	Group D.	A+B+C.	Total Number.
100	20	47	115	167	282

The figures state the number of units receiving relief (families or single persons.)

We shall not venture on a judgement of the total sum that these families cost the various municipalities every year, as by the nature of the case such a judgement would be very uncertain. It is not so large as the sum spent on a similar number of ordinary, permanently unemployed families. But on the other hand we may take it for granted that when a member of the gipsy families has taken to the mode of living described in the preceding, he will go on with it until his death, and thus he will continue to burden the public funds. In the case of the ordinary, settled worker there will always be a certain hope that he will manage to get employed again, even if he has been unemployed for some years.

In this connection we must admit, however, that we lack a material for comparison by which to illustrate the bearings of the gipsies on the public funds. On account of their peculiar mode of living, their strange names, and their characteristic appearance the gipsies are very conspicuous. The ordinary applicant for public relief is much more grey and inconspicuous. It would be interesting to make a genealogical investigation of a number of persons who have for years received rather large amounts in public relief. It seems to us just possible that such investigations might bring out information that would absolutely throw into the shade the relation of the gipsies to the public relief administration.

Nevertheless, the gipsies are expensive to the Danish community, and we must admit that they present a problem the solution of which must be on the minds of conscientious municipal officers.

The other point on which the interests of the gipsies and those of the community run together, is in their relation to laws and provisions.

Let it be said at once that the Danish gipsies do not confirm the experiences of foreign countries with regard to the excessive criminality of this people. Indeed, a very large number of them have been in touch with the police; but there is not a single severe crime among their acts.

The most frequent reasons why the police takes action against these people are their singing and playing in the court-yards, unlawful trading, vagabonding, and begging, all minor offences, which have connection with their particular habits of life, and which cannot in our opinion be regarded as real crimes.

A few members of these families have been guilty of frequent fights and occasional, not very severe acts of violence against deputy landlords, social inspectors, and similar persons, whom they have turned out of their homes. But they have never committed high crimes of violence, let alone murder or homicide.

There are a few cases of offences against morality, such as pimping, procuring, and impurity. Only in 2 cases we can talk of real prostitution.

The rest of the offences are such as have been committed for the purpose of gain. They are all mere trifles: petty thefts, speculation, receiving, and fraud.

In going over the five-year registers of "Danish Police Intelligence" from 1903 till 1940 in search of members of the gipsy families known to us, we have found 100 names. Probably there are some more, as a few may have escaped our attention, and a few are unknown to us. But in our opinion only a small number is lacking. In this statement we have left out of account persons married into gipsy families, they having no gipsy blood in their veins.

37 were either wanted on account of facts that had nothing to do with offence (payment of alimony, and the like) or were guilty of offences so small that they were not reported to the central registers of the police. The remaining 63 persons had been brought to trial for 69 offences, some, however, repeatedly for the same offence.

23 of these had only been charged with one or more petty offences, such as begging, vagabondage, minor acts of violence, drunkenness, offence against the law of compulsory military service, unlawful trading, and the like.

3 cases dealt with the keeping of whistling-shops.

In 9 cases there were offences against the provisions of morality (prostitution, pimping, procuring, transmission of venereal diseases, accusation of impurity). 31 were charged with theft or peculation, 3 with receiving, and 2 with fraud. Some cases were concluded without an action having been brought in. Among those who were charged with more serious crimes there were also some who had been begging as well.

Judging from these facts it must be admitted that the gipsies present no danger worth mentioning to public security, and that they are of interest socially chiefly on account of their relation to the public relief administration.

In the preceding we have in the main gone over the social conditions of the Danish gipsies, such as they appear from written and printed sources. Now there remains the biological estimate of them and a discussion of the social prognosis of the families. To this end we need two examinations, first a test of their racial composition, together with as thorough an account as possible of the individual conditions and the conditions of heredity of the persons married into the gipsy families, and secondly a psychiatric estimate of the largest possible number of the members of these families.

In chapter VIII we shall try to solve the former problem, and in chapter IX we shall on the basis of pedigrees of the families try to elucidate the latter question. Finally, in the last chapter we shall give a general idea of the conclusions that we find it justifiable to draw from the investigation as a whole.



CHAPTER VIII

THE DANISH GIPSIES OF  
MODERN TIMES.  
RACIAL COMPOSITION. NUMBER.  
THE PERSONS MARRIED INTO  
GIPSY FAMILIES

If we suppose that the first immigrants into Denmark, those who in the pedigrees of the next chapter are characterized as the A-generation, were genuine gipsies, we may without difficulty by Ritter's table calculate the racial distribution of the following generations. As mentioned in chapter VI this supposition may not be correct in all cases, but as so to speak all members of the second generation show intermarriage between children of the A-generation, we are of opinion that more than  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the forefathers of the third generation are gipsies.

The distribution is then as follows in the different generations :

Generation	Gipsies	Gipsy mixture	Non-gipsies
A	8	0	0
B	26	0	0
C	56	14	0
D	48	204	0
E	33	269	35
F	6	54	36

The calculation has been made for the following families: I to VIII.

The table shows that in our days there are but few persons who by the criteria mentioned in the preceding may be characterized as

pure gipsies, and that roughly speaking we have to do with a population of mixed gipsies, which is about to be lost in the proper native population.

It is difficult to make up the total number of these people in Denmark, as we do not know all of them. We estimate it to be 700 to 800, of which about 600 are known. In Germany, as will be remembered, there are found 30,000 to 40,000 mixed gipsies and a few thousand pure gipsies. If we reckon the total number of these two categories at 40,000 and the total population of Germany at 80,000,000, we shall find the ratio to be 1 to 2000. If we estimate the population of Denmark to be 3,800,000, and if the frequency of gipsies in this country were proportionally the same as in Germany, we should here have 1900 gipsies, which is, however, well over double the number of those actually found. Our gipsy problem is in other words percentally half as great as that of Germany. Besides there is the difference that whereas Germany has both pure and mixed gipsies, we have only the latter category. However, we should not by such a proportional calculation be tempted to overlook the absolute figures. Even though our gipsy per cent is not quite small in comparison with that of Germany, it does of course make a great difference whether you have to do with 800 at most or 40,000 more or less asocial individuals.

In the course of time a great number of marriages into the native population have taken place, by the way in a few cases within the youngest generation it has been done on purpose in order to obliterate the distinction between them and the native population. The great importance of the qualities of those whom the gipsies marry for the social prognosis of such families appears from Ritter's results.

We have made a statement of all marriages and illegitimate connections in the not resident branches of families I to VIII from the immigration till our days, in the cases in which the name and birth-place of the partner is known to us. There are altogether 225 cases. Next we have examined each of those married into the families to see whether he was himself a gipsy, and if not, whether it was possible to say anything for certain with regard to his own social conditions or psychiatric state. And further we have examined who his parents were. The examinations have resulted in the following information:

In 58 cases both partners were gipsies.

- .. 67 .. the partner was a vagabond or a decided psychopath.
- .. 5 .. we must characterize the partner as mentally or socially deficient, without belonging to the above category, however.
- .. 5 .. the partner was physically defective (f. i. from tuberculosis of the lungs or lupus in the face).
- .. 11 .. the partners were wandering circus people.
- .. 19 .. the partner was a girl who cohabited with the gipsy without being married with him. And girls who cohabit with gipsies always come from the lowest classes of society.
- .. 25 .. the qualities of the partner are unknown to us.
- .. 35 .. the partner is normal.

In other words ab.  $\frac{1}{4}$  of them have married other gipsies; in ab.  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the partners it is possible to demonstrate some abnormality or other, and only ab.  $\frac{1}{4}$  can be regarded as socially and mentally rather normal persons (the unknown are included in this group, as our lacking knowledge of them is most frequently due to the fact that the persons in question present nothing of particular interest.)

Information on the parents is obtained in the case of 173 partners. This means that it has only been possible to procure such information in the case of  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the non-gipsies married into gipsy families, because information on birthplace is either lacking in the other cases, or proves to have been misstated. There is, however, no doubt that the remaining group is representative in every respect. Thus parents both of the normal and of the abnormal individuals are represented in an almost equal number, and the group does not either in any other way differ from the one that must here be left out. We find the following as to the social conditions of the parents:

Small-holders, or lodgers living with the peasants: 18.  
 Labourers or unskilled workers: 35.  
 Journeymen: 20.

Petty traders: 2.

People of a higher social standing: 16.

The mother unmarried, belonging to the working class: 12.

The total number of resident people: 103.

Pedlars: 8.

Circus people: 4.

The total number of not resident people: 12.

Only a single not resident family has been found to have several members married into the gipsy families. The other families are scattered all over the country and do not seem to have any connection with each other. Accordingly it cannot be a population of vagabonds or proletarians, which might be imagined to add to the gipsies hereditary qualities analogous with their own. Yet the majority of those married into gipsy families have that in common that they come from the poorest and culturally most primitive classes in the towns as well as in the country; but we could not expect that to be otherwise.

In other words the following may be said of the conjugal connections of the gipsies:

There are about  $\frac{1}{4}$  cases of intermarriage between gipsies and non-gipsies.

The majority of the non-gipsies married into gipsy families are socially or mentally deficient persons; but:

They do not proceed from any special native class of vagabonds or proletarians, but from families that comport themselves like the majority of the poorest elements of the population.

It follows from this that although the hereditary qualities of those married into the gipsy families may not be the very best, they are at any rate of a nature to make the gipsy families more and more stable in the course of time; and this again results in a more and more ordinary respectable mode of living, at first in very poor circumstances; but gradually they get to live like the average of the Danish nation. Besides we must not forget that the more sedate a family member is, the greater is his chance of getting a respectable conjugal partner. Consequently the quality of those married into the gipsy families will grow better, gradually as the development advances.

It is difficult to say how long it will take before a complete socialization of the families will be accomplished, because of the frequent marriages with relatives. But if we reckon that socialization takes about 4 generations, the process will last yet 50 to 100 years in the case of the families of our propositi.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE DANISH GIPSIES OF MODERN TIMES. PEDIGREES. ACCOUNTS OF INDIVIDUAL PERSONS

In the following we shall give partly a survey of each single family as far as we have succeeded in tracing it up, and partly a characterization of a number of individual persons. This characterization founds in the first instance on impressions gathered by one of us during numerous visits to the homes, and in the next place on a number of statements found in the documents of the persons in question. We have particularly valuable information in the cases in which interference from the side of the Child-Welfare Committee has been in question. Besides, the school director of Copenhagen has very kindly allowed us to apply to the municipal schools of Copenhagen with inquiries about the children who have been educated in these schools, and the respective school inspectors and teachers have most willingly imparted to us their views of the pupils. On applying to all mental hospitals in this country with inquiries about the patients, we received the answer that, apart from a single feeble-minded woman and one man admitted under a diagnosis of dementia paralytica, no gipsy was ever admitted to any one of these hospitals. In other words admittance on account of more serious psychoses or with a view to mental observation has not occurred. Finally Dr. Wad, chief of the Hospital for Mental Defectives at Vodskov, and Mr. Hede-gaard, inspector in the same place, have made for us a number of visits to various gipsy families in North Jutland.

The visits to the families have only been practicable under various pretexts, mainly on account of the suspiciousness of these people. Consequently the exploration of the mentality of each single

individual has only been possible to a very limited extent. Determinations of intelligence quotient and the like have only been made on school children. Nevertheless we are of opinion that the personal acquaintance we have acquired with a number of gipsies, together with the above-mentioned sources of information give us a sufficient basis for a reliable impression of the peculiar mentality of this group within the population, and it seems to us very unlikely that we should be able through a more thorough observation to add any essential features to the picture.

## FAMILY No. I

*Gen. B.4.* Is by Miskow, the investigator of gipsies, described as a small stoop-shouldered, hot-headed bit of a man, who travelled about in North Jutland as a grinder. He was much given to drink, and when drunk he bullied his wife and his children.

His wife was a very plain-featured, typical old gipsy woman. She was of weak intellect, fond of finery, but exceedingly good-natured. After the death of her husband she lived in a small town in North Jutland, chiefly by poor relief.

They had 4 children: No. 1 was a gardener and seems to have managed without public relief until his death. No. 2 is a shoemaker suffering from general paresis. No. 3 was married and resident. No. 4 lives in a typical gipsy manner. As to exterior they are very dark, typical gipsies. On the appearance of the above description of the parents the gardener urged vehement and hot-tempered objections to it; Miskow even feared corporal molestation. Nothing happened, however, except that he had to give a kind of denial in order to appease him.

*Gen. C.2.* Held a large, well-known circus until it failed. In *Dansk Folkemindesamling* (the collection of Danish folklore) there is found an exercise-book containing the memoirs of the circus manager, given to the collection by Miskow. In these memoirs he tells a. o. as follows: "I was born on travel. I had many siblings, but they have nearly all of them died. Particularly I remember my brother (*gen. C.1.*), who was always in high spirits, and had a faculty for pushing on in the world without ever letting himself be taken aback. Once in distress for money he made a great performance on a fair-day with a goat, which he exhibited in a small tent as a very strange animal from the desert, calling it a gazelle. His discourse



GENERATION A  
Ab. 1800-1870

GENERATION B  
Ab. 1830-1900

GENERATION C  
Ab. 1855-

- ☐ Grinder, drover of swine, m. w. a gipsy, possibly proceeding from Mönkernöller's family.
- ☐ Grinder, small-holder, m. 1. w. family II, B.1.
- ☐ Probably emm. to Germany.
- ☐ M. w. a member of family 3. II in Sweden.
- ☐ Grinder. See text. M. w. family VI, B.3. As to the children see table II.
- ☐ Probably emmigrated.

- ☐ A wandering grinder, himself born on a passage. M. w. a non-gipsy. Went from home after ab. 20 years of married life. Died 10 years later in hospital of delirium tremens.

- ☐ Circus manager on a large scale. M. w. family VII, C.6. See text.
- ☐ M. w. family III, C.4. See text. As to the children see family III.
- ☐ M. w. a grinder, who though a non-gipsy is very observant of their customs. The children: See table II.
- ☐ M. w. a small-holder. See text. The children: See table II.

TABLE I  
FAMILY No. I  
(continued on table II)

GENERATION D  
Ab. 1870-

GENERATION E  
Ab. 1900-

GENERATION F  
Ab. 1920-

- ☐ Feeble-minded. Rag-picker. 1.

- ☐ M. 3 times w. pedlars. See 2. text.

- ☐ Sailor, brush-maker, grinder, owner of merry-go-round. Has suffered from various diseases, partly venereal, partly rheumatic. Received a great deal of public aid a. o. as expenses for payment of alimony. The women with whom he has had connection seem to belong to the lowest proletariat.

- ☐ Prostitute.

- 4. 12 children, most of whom are artistes or m. w. artistes. See father.

- 3◇ † in babyhood.
- ☐ Fair traveller. See text.
- 1. Married twice, 1 illegitimate child; all women gipsies.
- ☐ Divorced from fam. IV, 2. D.19. See text.
- ☐ † in infancy.
- 3.
- ☐ Pedlar. See text. M. w. fam. IV, D.21.
- ☐ † in childhood. See text.
- 5.
- ☐ † in childhood.
- 6.
- ☐ Steward. See text.
- 7.
- ☐ M. twice with gipsies. See text.
- 8.
- ☐ Pedlar. See text.
- 9.
- 3◇ † in babyhood.
- ☐ M. w. a pedlar. See text.
- 13.

16 children.

- ☐ Pedlar. See text. Children 14. by 3 women, including 1 gipsy.
- ☐ Mechanic. See text.
- 15.
- ☐ Pedlar.
- 16.
- ☐ Pedlar. Hard of hearing, 17. often ill, receives much public aid.
- ◇ † in babyhood.

4-5 children.

Many children.

was laughter-compelling.—My father taught me the trade of grinding, a little music, and acrobatics, which I had to perform together with my siblings.”

Next there follows a rather long lyrical description of how he met his future wife, and how after their marriage they began with a grinding cart and a coffee-pot. Besides, on their way about they gave various performances, sometimes in the inns, and sometimes in cow-houses, where the audience sat on boards laid across some barrels. But after the birth of their first child the others followed in rapid succession, so that they had to make a purchase of a caravan waggon and a horse. They got altogether 12 children. “In most cases the birth of a child means increased expenses, but not so with us; on the contrary each new child born to us brought an increase in our income.”

When they could afford it, they bought a circus tent, in which all the members of the family acted as artistes. The circus grew in the course of years, and by the end of the nineties the family had a tent that would take about 500 spectators. They bought a small estate for winter-residence, where the daughters were instructed by foreign riding-masters. “But as soon as spring drew near, we longed for greater activity and variety, and the great world attracted us.”

One winter day in 1941 we pay their home a visit. The family owns a small house in the country, which proves to be neat and tidy, without any particular features apart from the pictures on the walls, mainly representing circus artistes in various attitudes. The manager is a small stocky pyknic, dark-eyed, white-haired, aged about 80. He is hospitable and straightforward, a grand old man, gifted and talking a cultured language, confident, cheerful, and outspoken.

He declares himself a gipsy, and points out that this race has nothing to do with “Potato-Germans” (*Kartoffeltyskere*) and “night-men.” He mentions their language called Rommany, which he claims to command to perfection, whereas his children know nothing of this language. He maintains that originally the language was talked by all gipsies in Holstein, Scandinavia, and Russia, only with different accents.

He looks with sadness at the “decadence of the tribe,” the marriages of its members into the race of vagrants, which has nothing

## GENERATION C

Ab. 1855-

## GENERATION D

Ab. 1870-

## GENERATION E

Ab. 1900-

Gen. B. No. 4.	4.	17-25 4 daughters, 5 sons. Most are fair travellers. See text.	Many children. See parents.	
	5.	1 daughter, 2 living sons. Fieldlabourers, re- sident, inoffensive, and industrious people. Of weak intellect. no doubt illiterates.	Many children.	
	6.	Gardener. Was till his death resident and social.	3 children, all supposed to be resident.	
	1.	Shoemaker. Resident, but has difficulty in manag- ing for himself. D.p.	31. Tailor, resident, in- dustrious. Manages without aid. 32. † young. 33. Bookbinder. Clever. 33. Manages for herself.	3 children.
	8.	Domestic servant, later married. Social until her death.	34. Musician, fair tra- veller. M. w. family V, E 3. See father.	4 children.
	9.	Fair traveller, artiste, m. w. family II, C.8. See text.	35. Musician, fair tra- veller. See father. 36. Musician, fair tra- veller. M. w. family III, E.9. See father.	1 child.

TABLE II  
FAMILY No. I  
(continued from table I)

spond to the impression we get when we see her in her 80th year of age living in a neat little flat in a home for old age pensioners. A small grizzled, but otherwise still black-haired, woman, a typical gipsy to look at, plainly invites us to come in. She wears long ear-drops and a large amber-necklace. Everything is perfectly clean and tidy, and when we talk about washing, she demonstrates that she is clean even to her chemise. Apparently our visit cheers her considerably, and unlike her tribal kinsmen she speaks freely. She is not lenient in her mention of our "common acquaintance." She tells us with a certain pride that she never lies, and, indeed, her "disadvantageous" utterances are, as far as they may be controlled, quite correct, at least until she gets to the mention of her own children, of whom she only says that they are clever and good, poor but honest. She has born 13 children, 6 of whom are still alive. Of her deceased husband she speaks in very high terms, but the large photo on the wall does not give us the impression of an absolutely congenial man.

She is very witty and prompt in reply, no doubt she is a person of brains, like her brother, the circus manager, with whom she has on the whole several features in common. She speaks Danish and German with equal facility, but prefers to speak a mixture of both. Of the gipsy language she knows only some detached words. Her speech is spiced with small oaths, which, however, only have a charming effect. She seems in her days of power to have possessed great authority and personality. She loves nature and the travelling life she used to live, missing both terribly. But whenever the yearning to travel about becomes too great, she takes a ride on her bicycle.

She points out to us the solidarity that previously existed among the various families, but mentions with sadness that it exists no longer, now that the gipsies marry "private individuals."

In spite of her distinctly critical view of life, which even makes her call her ancestors a lot of thieves, she seems to identify herself with her tribe, saying with some emotion, "I feel that you like us."—There is nothing scheming about her, and she gives the impression of being characterologically unchallengeable.

*Gen. C.5.* This woman got married with a small-holder in the village in which she lived. He was of German descent and suffered

from a very disfiguring lupus vulgaris of the face (lacking nose, lips, etc.) After his death in 1908 she went to live near a large bog in the same parish. She had numerous admirers who dug themselves cave-dwellings in the surrounding hills in order to be near her. The widow seems to have been a severe rival to her only daughter, whose marriage engagement was broken off. Later she stayed in a caravan waggon in another part of North Jutland. Now she lives by old age pension. Her two sons are honest, but rather brainless field-labourers with many children. It is told about one of them that sometimes for appearance' sake he reads a paper. But he who observes him more closely will soon discover that as often as not he turns the paper upside down.

*Gen. C.9.* Has been knocking about the country, partly as an artiste with a circus, partly as a pedlar and a grinder. Lives permanently in a waggon. Has received a great deal of public aid from 1917-36. Once he was charged with begging but was remanded with a caution; he has never been actually punished. Seems to be very difficult and vehement. Thus he once got notice to quit his lodgings because he had assaulted the deputy landlord. Another time he let one of his sons throw a social inspector out of the waggon. At a certain time the family was characterized as an abject rabble.

*Gen. D.34-35-36.* 3 sons of whom No. 1 has lived his whole life as a musician (violin, the blade of a saw, etc.) and an acrobat (rope-walker), partly on his own account, partly in a circus. For some time he performed together with another gipsy in one of the great places of entertainment in Copenhagen. He has received a great deal of public aid. Has been summoned several times by the police for playing in the court-yards.

No. 2 has likewise lived his whole life as an artiste and a musician, never having had regular work. He has received a great deal of public aid from various districts of the country. He generally carries it so far that a prospect of indoor relief is held out to him, whereupon he moves to another district or borough. He begs even in the office for social relief, and has also gone the length of threatening the staff with violence. He is not a willing worker. An inspector once found him and his wife still in bed at 1 o'clock

to do with gipsies. Like so many other gipsies he divides the human race into two categories, namely "travellers" and "private individuals." To be a "private individual" is in reality the same as to be a non-gipsy.

He emphasizes the solidarity generally prevailing among the members of the family, and the fact that they are always ready to spare to others, stripping themselves to the skin if necessary.

He has 12 children, of whom he utters nothing but words of praise, which is a typical gipsy feature, and at least in the case of these children contrary to facts. Like most gipsies he utters spontaneously the following remark: "Thank God none of my children have ever been in conflict with law." The gipsies always seem to have an idea that we are out in search of something or other in this respect; consequently we cannot expect to get a but fairly sober characterization of the children, neither from this man nor from any other gipsy.

His knowledge of other members of the family seems rather peripheral; at any rate he does not want to speak of them, partly perhaps because they have not attained his social standing, and partly because of the unwritten law that no gipsy renders up any one of his own tribe.

But we have a pleasant conversation about his own knock-about life. He is a passionate lover of nature, and every summer he and "his missus," in spite of their 80 years of age, set out with tent and fishing-rod to settle somewhere near the Gudena.

During the hour of our visit we become excellent friends, and with the, as it seems to us, typical gipsy cordiality—mind if we have succeeded in making them confide in us—he says on our leave, "Come and stay with us a few days next summer and let us go out fishing together." We part with a promise of meeting again soon in Copenhagen, and further he promises to send a letter with detailed information on certain family relations; but none of these promises have been fulfilled.

We know nothing certain to the discredit of this man, and as far as our knowledge of him goes, he has never been in conflict with law.

Of his wife we get no impression during our visit, except that she must have been a beauty in her youth. She is an unusually stately

old lady, but she seems to be somewhat arteriosclerotic, and is highly displeased with this uninvited caller.

The married couple has 12 children: 3 sons and 9 daughters.

1) A daughter, whom we find at home, has just returned from abroad, where she and her husband have a circus. She is said to be a skilled equestrian. She is a distinct gipsy type with black, frizzled hair, large, dark eyes, and a yellowish hue. She is kindly, rather quiet, and talks to her father with all signs of respect. Seems to be of average intellect.

2) We also find a son at home. He is quite fair, not in the least like a gipsy. His physiognomy is marked slightly by misuse of alcohol, but otherwise he is a rather good-looking fellow of the athletic type. His father describes him as an artiste of high mark. But the fact is that he has not been performing for several years, but goes about selling brushes, an occupation that forms a glaring contrast to his imposing exterior. By officials he is characterized as a bad fellow, a rascal at home, an impostor, and a hotel deceiver. Nevertheless he is the favourite of his parents, who regard him as a light, and always find excuses for his doings and sayings.

3) A son who lived for some years as an artiste (somersaults on horseback.) In connection with a theft he was placed in hospital for mental observation and was found to be slightly feeble-minded. He is able to read but has difficulty in writing, has got no education except that of his parents. During a subsequent stay in hospital the following diagnosis was made: *Inferioritas intellectualis. Lues cerebrospinalis. Obs. for dementia paralytica.*

4) A son who owns a portable cinema. Is said to have very aristocratic features, but rather obsequious manners. He cannot be said never to have been in conflict with law, at any rate he may without exaggeration be called a bad payer.—One daughter is married with an impoverished count. The other daughters are artistes.

*Gen. C.3.* She and her husband travelled about all their life with swing-boats, even after they had begun to receive old age pension. After the death of her husband she moved to Copenhagen, where she lived till her 75th year of age in a caravan waggon of her own. She has applied for extra relief several times, and is stated to be rather miserable. This does not in the least corre-

p. m.; the woman was smoking cigarettes, the bed-clothes were "black as earth." He refuses to receive aid in kind, throws away his control ticket, etc.—His wife once received a conditional condemnation for theft. Within that same year she was charged with having earned a livelihood by prostitution.

Son No. 3, also a musician and an artiste, is a pedlar besides. Lives most often in a caravan waggon. Receives a great deal of public aid. Refuses to take work as a messenger, "artistes are not errand-boys." Arrested lots of times for playing in the court-yards.

*Gen. D.2.* She has been married 3 times with pedlars and grinders, who were not of gipsy descent. She has born 16 children, but 9 died in infancy and 2 at the age of 14 or 15 by drowning. She has always lived in very poor circumstances, partly travelling about in a waggon, partly staying in the poorest quarters of Copenhagen. Both her hearing and her vision are greatly impaired.

By municipal officers she is described as an "inferior proletarian woman, immoral, obsequious, and lying," but by people who know her well as extremely helpful and generous, always in high spirits. A visible outcome of this latter view is the fact that once when she married one of her cohabitants, a subscription was raised among the inhabitants of the house in which she lived for the purchase of a present of 12 cups and saucers. Apparently, where the authorities or business connections are concerned she attempts to get full benefit of all her transactions, whereas to her friends she is extremely helpful and fully reliable. Thus *f. i.* she paid back every penny of a sum of money that she had once borrowed of a sick nurse frequently visiting at her home; and she even presented her with a few chickens from her allotment. Her home is bright and clean, in spite of the fact that at a certain time there lived 11 persons in one room and a kitchen. When she rejoices at something or other, her enthusiasm knows no bounds. But great was on the other hand her disappointment, when a chance of getting a flat consisting of 2 rooms with a washing cellar failed. However, she consoled herself with the following words: "Well, never mind, for here Jensen and I found happiness, Jensen left off drinking, and I learned to get out of the habit of scolding." She was intolerant of drunkenness. When later the family acquired a larger



flat, her delight was beyond description. It was particularly amusing to see the delight she took in nature and in animals; she was often seen to walk about with a cock on her shoulder.

She would sometimes be seen to weep over her sons, because she found in them the same restlessness as in herself, this craving for the travelling life. Not till she was grown-up did she learn to read and write.

*A visit to her home.* The married couple occupies a flat consisting of 2 rooms in a poor quarter of Copenhagen. By this time she is about 60 years of age. Everything is bright and clean. The only characteristic thing about the flat is here as with most other gipsies the large number of pictures representing artistes.

She herself is clean and tidy, but looks nevertheless like a savage. Her frizzled hair stands wildly round her head, she has broad cheekbones, a yellowish hue, small and dark eyes. She is very stout. Speaks in a loud monotonous voice on account of her pronounced deafness, and her vision is impaired; yet, as she is very lively and talkative, we succeed in carrying on a kind of conversation. She speaks at great length of her children and grandchildren, and is supremely delighted at the bright sides, but on the other hand she does not conceal the fact that some of them have miscarried, however, without mentioning the more serious affairs. In point of school-learning she gives the impression of being rather ignorant, and she has hardly any high intelligence quotient either. To us she is cheerful and kindly, not obsequious, yet we do not doubt that if it is convenient for her she will display powers of dissimulation. She is an interesting person to talk with, and we feel a warm heart beating behind her shocking appearance.

It is a curious fact that she is characterized as immoral, obsequious, and lying by one class of people, and by another as industrious, tidy, helpful, easy of enthusiasm, in possession of a marked family feeling, and a feeling for nature. But both descriptions seem to be correct, however, being in full accordance with the gipsy character.

Her husbands were all of them more or less psychopathic individuals. One was given to drink, as mentioned above. Her present husband is a former pedlar and owner of swing-boats, who spent

most of his childhood in various reformatories. Now suffering from a luetic aortitis.

*Gen. D.17-25. The eldest son. A visit to his home*, which seems to be very poor. It has but few chests of drawers in it and is overcrowded with children. The man is in prison for the present. His wife makes a rather brainless impression, is very nervous, but easy to get into touch with. She states that she is a daughter of a feeder of cattle. Neither she nor her relations belong to the "travellers." She herself will by no means live in a waggon, so accordingly she has very little intercourse with the relatives of her husband. It offends her that their children are not sent to school. Her own children are much better educated, and she hopes that they will become resident.

She has, however, some connection with one of her husband's sisters, and one of her sons is much taken up with this aunt and wants to go travelling with her.

In her opinion all her 9 children are healthy and normal. Those present make the impression of being exactly like other large flocks of children in the homes of unemployed people.

*The school.* No. 1 is about to be confirmed. She is said to be of normal parts, a clever and good girl.

No. 2 had to remain in the second form for 3 years and has difficulty in keeping up with the other pupils in school. He is a bad truant.

No. 3 was for some years regarded as a character, eccentric both of dress and conduct, made a somewhat subdued impression. But now that he has begun to see more of the aunt mentioned above, he has become much more free and easy in his conduct. He is hardly particularly gifted.

An intelligence examination of No. 2 gives an I.Q. of 81,—a lively, very talkative boy without self-control.

No. 4 has an I.Q. of 80. He has a slight defect of speech. Both boys must be characterized as backward children.

*The youngest son. A visit to his caravan waggon.* The waggon is in a very bad condition, lacking a. o. its hind wheels. The man is not in, but I find in the waggon his wife and most of his children. His wife gives the impression of being naturally gifted. She states that she does not belong to the "travellers" but to the race

of peasants. As to the conditions of the family she expresses herself with some reservation; she maintains that they do not receive public aid, and that her husband is able to support them. This winter has been bad, however, but now they will soon be on the move again.

None of the children have gone to school (5 out of 8 are of compulsory school age), but they have all of them learned to read and write.

When spoken to the children make a perfectly natural impression. Also in appearance they are like other children, with no signs of their gipsy descent.

*Gen. E.I.* This man is reported in his school years to have been a well-behaved, gifted and amusing boy. At the age of 11 he ran from home, ostensibly because his mother's cohabitant had flogged him. He went down into the country and tried to subsist by selling picture postcards. But he had not reached far when the police found him in a "Work Dignifies"-hostel, and sent him home.

The following year he was removed from home and sent to an educational institution, from where at the age of 14 he got the following character: "An unusually good-natured and helpful boy, and always grateful even for the smallest things, a feature that is but rarely met with in the boys. But the gipsy blood in his veins does not belie itself. He is care-free and light-minded."—" - has no doubt a talent for acting as a clown."

After a few years' stay in the educational institution he seemed to quiet down so much that the institution found him some situations, which, according to his own utterances in letters to his mother, suited him well. And his employers were satisfied with him. Was very fond of animals. He remained in his first situation until on account of accidental normal circumstances he had to move. But from the two latter situations he ran away apparently from no other cause than a sudden longing to wander, the situations being, as mentioned above, very good.

During these escapades he got his first child at the age of 17, on account of which he was placed in a closed department of a reformatory until his 18th year of age. After that time he has been leading a life of vagabondage, now travelling about with a merry-go-round, now singing in the court-yards, or living as a pedlar, a

brush-maker, etc. He has received large amounts of public aid, also in the form of poor relief, partly for his own living, and partly for the large number of alimonies he has to pay.

The officials dealing with the affairs of this man always speak of him in high terms. He has been charged with theft, but the case was dropped.

He has 5 children by 4 different women, 2 of whom have been his wives. One of these cohabitants is unknown, the others are half-gipsies like himself.

*Gen. E.2.* This woman has always been weakly, has been in a sanatorium several times for tuberculosis.

Her school reports as follows: Lying and immoral, enters into indecent conversation with the older boys. In the evenings she goes about selling picture postcards in public houses at the instigation of her mother. On her discharge from school: An extremely mischievous child, who now more than ever wants looking after.

In the confirmation class she behaves well, but gives the impression of being a little backward.

Since her 18th year of age she has practically been living by public aid. Now she receives disablement benefit. She was for some time married with a gipsy, who is somewhat out of the usual picture, having been punished several times for thefts. He is known to be a bad, very unreliable fellow.

*A visit to her home.* 1940. 2 small rooms in back premises in a poor quarter of Copenhagen. Her home is clean and tidy.

She is small in stature, narrow-chested, of short breath, does not look like a gipsy. Is very poorly dressed, but wears earrings and a large silver locket, bought at a few Ører, "loves antiquities."

In summer she has always been used to travel about with swing-boats together with her parents and her siblings, and she loves the travelling life. "When spring draws near, I feel the restlessness recurring,—then travel, only travel." With delight and pride she shows us a picture of a small tent, saying, "this is my home in summer."

She tells us that she has not gone much to school, and that she can neither read nor write, which, however, she does not mind. It is enough for her to be able to do sums, which she manages with

great facility. She is used to bargaining, "and you may be sure, nobody shall take me in," (very likely true). Being a clever seller she is sorry that she can no longer get up and down stairs. Apparently she has no school-learning whatever, nor is she particularly intelligent, possibly even a little backward. But, she is by no means disinterested, and she speaks an astonishingly cultured language. She loves beautiful antique things, and tells us spontaneously that she visits all the village churches she comes across on her travels, looking at them both on the outside and within, because she has always found a particular beauty about these old buildings. She is not the least bit religious. Like most other gipsies she was baptized a Catholic, but maintains that religion does not mean much to any of them.

She shows us her photograph album with a large family gallery. As we happen to take a particular interest in one of the pictures, she promptly seizes a case-knife, cuts out the picture, and gives it to us. She gives utterance to the same pronounced family feeling as her mother; is very sorry that she has no children. In her, like in many other gipsies we note a feeling of great respect for the parents; thus while showing us the pictures she refers to them several times as her masters. She speaks of "we travellers" in contrast with "private individuals;" yet she often exclaims, "This is a typical gipsy picture." Talks a great deal of her poverty, but she does not beg. Is much taken up with a male acquaintance, a boxer; however, she is anxious to assure us that he has never given her money, but he has given her a pair of shoes. On the whole she gives the impression of being rather taken up with the stronger sex.

She reminds us on many points of her mother. Like her she can no doubt be rather sly, probably also somewhat obsequious, and she hardly shrinks from a lie, if it pays. But with her it is the same as with her mother, that through the "official characterization" we get a wrong picture of her, for she is by no means void of winning qualities.

*Gen. E.4.* This son was in 1915 removed from home and placed in an educational institution. In 1922 he got a situation as a farm-servant, and was reported in 1923 to be clever and good to the animals. Soon after this he began to lead a life of vagabondage, but

nothing is stated as to the reason why he did so. Since then he has been living as a grinder, a pedlar, and on rare occasions as a workman. He is married with a gipsy.

Another son is said to have been vagabondizing, and to have joined in a breaking into a fruit-shop. He died by drowning.

*Gen. E.7.* During childhood this son displayed bad conduct both at school and at home; he played truant, and vagabondized, and had a bad influence on his school-fellows. Already at the age of 14 he was met in a state of intoxication. At the age of 13 he ran from home and was placed in an educational institution, which reports as follows: A very difficult pupil, polite, but restless and scattered, and he is not afraid of putting up his fists. He commits no great offences, being too prudent, sly, or cunning for that, but he is always at work and has great power over the other boys on account of his physical strength, his inventiveness, and his exceptional powers of persuasion. He enjoys making a school-fellow do something wrong. And when it is found out, and the offender gets into difficulties, he will declare loudly that it is an infamy and that "you cannot behave like that to the nice teachers." If he is convinced of his own share in the offence, he makes off-hand an excellent and verbose speech of defence. But generally also his defence is pure fabrication and invention.

At a certain period he was the only one of the family who by peddling earned some money, on account of which he tyrannized the others. The peddling gave him a great deal of money. "When with dizzy volubility he tells of the circumstances in which his family lives, everybody has pity for him."

At the age of 17 he was sent to sea. Later he served his time as a soldier. In 1933 he received some winter relief, but the public aid authorities have not heard from him since.

He is, however, in good health and spirits. A sister of his (*gen. E.2*) states as follows: He is the only one of the flock who has really done well. He is an expert cook, is a restaurant-keeper onboard a ship, and is married with a "private individual." He never shrinks from helping his parents, when they are in difficulties, whereas his wife is said to be stingy. Apparently his sister is very proud of this brother.

In spite of the numerous bad qualities found in him according to the educational institution, he seems to have had so much strength of character that he has succeeded in adapting himself to society. This adaptation is the more astonishing because it has no relation to a radical change of milieu.

Many of the features pointed out by the educational institution are characteristic of the nature of gipsies. Thus the fact that he never commits great offences, but prudently keeps within certain limits, without this being a sign of cowardice, as he is not afraid of putting up his fists. His polite manners. His inventiveness and great eloquence matched with a certain slyness. His restlessness and craving for sensations. And finally his charm adaptable to business purposes. Add to this his sister's report "a brother ready to help at the hour of need," and we shall have the typical picture of a gipsy.

*Gen. E.8.* At school characterized as a difficult child of weak intellect. Has always been living the life of a gipsy. Married twice with gipsies.

*Gen. E.9.* A school report states him to have been a difficult child of average intellect. At the age of 15 he ran from home and was on Funen mixed up in an unsolved case of violation. The excursion was made on a stolen bicycle.

The Child-Welfare Committee reports as follows: He is a vagabond and will never be anything else. He is a good-natured, inoffensive boy, who would not harm a fly. But he loves liberty, and it is this fact which is generally the apple of discord between him and his step-father.—Once he was charged with begging, but was remanded with a caution.

His wife, who is a non-gipsy, was born out of wedlock. Has always been rather weakly.

*Gen. E.13.* Her school reports as follows: Of weak intellect, fickle, indolent, and lazy, but her conduct is rather good.

Her husband, who is not a gipsy, is characterized as a bad person suffering from a venereal disease. His brother has been punished for indecent behaviour towards little girls. Another brother stays mostly with her sister (E.2).

*Gen. E. 14.* He and his twin-brother were in childhood removed from their mother and placed in an educational institution. He has served his apprenticeship to baking, after which he had a situation as a journeyman baker for about one year. Next he served his time as a soldier. Since then he has hardly ever had regular work. He has been living partly by public aid, partly by peddling, acrobatics, and the like, living in a caravan waggon or with some relatives. Once he received a conditional condemnation for bicycle-stealing and receiving. To one of his young ladies he was brutal, often ill-treating her.

Although he has thus spent most of his childhood and youth in perfectly ordered circumstances, and has got a regular training, he has not been able to appreciate these advantages, but has preferred to return to his original milieu, to lead the free and independent life of a gipsy.

*Gen. E. 15.* The twin-brother, who was placed in the same educational institution, was afterwards sent to an agricultural college, and from there to serve an apprenticeship to smithing. Is now a journeyman smith. Served his time as a soldier without any conflicts worth mentioning. But the year after his dismissal he was sentenced to 80 days in prison for bicycle-stealing. After he had come out he lived for a few years by peddling, travelling about with a circus and a merry-go-round, and besides by public aid, until he got a temporary job as a smith. Here he came to harm, however, and accordingly for the next year lived by sickness fund relief. When reported cured he got another situation in his line. While in this situation he performed a feat attended with danger to himself, saving the life of one of his mates by catching him in his fall from a scaffolding. For the reward given him for his exploit he engaged in such excesses in *Baccho et Venere* that it was necessary to put him into prison again. By the way the authorities who have for many years been dealing with the affairs of the family foresaw this end to the story.

By his acquaintances and more distant relations he is described as a very brutal and uncongenial fellow.

His first wife was a typical gipsy. The marriage was, however, dissolved by statute, because she was pregnant by another man.



*Conclusion.* This family presents an extremely chequered picture. We meet with skilful artistes, who have succeeded in managing quite without public aid, and on the other hand we meet with people of weak intellect, who live in extreme poverty. Some of them have rather frequently been in conflict with law, but even among the poorest we may find persons, especially women, that are exceedingly hard-working and industrious.

Their mentality is the same whether they be better off or poor. Most of them are charming, lively, and unpretentious; moreover self-sacrificing, when their next of kin are concerned, having a pronounced family feeling. But at the same time many of them are unreliable, a. o. when it is a question of taking advantage of the public funds.

## FAMILY No. II

The first ancestor was a grinder, for a number of years receiving poor relief in Schleswig. His birthplace is unknown. 2 daughters and 1 son immigrated to Denmark.

*Gen. B.2.* Born in Holstein on one of his parents' travels, and grown up in the neighbourhood of Flensburg. He never went to school. When at the age of 20 he was confirmed, after having come to Seeland, the following was stated about him: "Knowledge: mediocre. Conduct: passable. Has had the natural variolous diseases." Till the age of 35 he wandered about the country without a fixed abode, living by grinding. By and by he bought a small house in a village in North Jutland, staying there in winter. His wife was likewise of gipsy descent, a typical gipsy to look at. She had great authority in the tribe.

The relation to his neighbours seems to have been rather strained at first. 5 years after he had bought the house he was convicted of "having used violence and abusive language to a fire-inspection-witness." From the documents of the case we get the impression that the man must have been of a somewhat hot-tempered disposition, but also that the neighbours found pleasure in teasing him, and to some extent conspired against him in their evidences. It is hardly likely that the gipsy colony (besides this man 4 other gipsies had settled there) was popular among the peasants of the parish.

However, gradually as years went by the family made itself respected among the inhabitants of the village, and their posthumous reputation is very good.

It is told about "the stammer grinder" (as he was called on account of a defect of speech, being hereditary in a number of his

descendants) that in his old age he used to drive about in a carriage and four. People regarded the members of the family rather as good old friends and were glad when they returned to the place.

The children did not go to school, and many of them are illiterates even to-day. A number of members of this family seem to be of weak intellect, some are even backward or feeble-minded. As mentioned above several of them stammer. None of them have a permanent residence.

*Gen. C.1.* Her husband was a son of a chimney-sweeper, and had himself served an apprenticeship to saddlery. He came to Denmark as a groom at a circus. Later he became an organ-grinder and a cutlery-grinder. The family travelled about in a caravan waggon. Apart from old age pension they have received no public aid.

*Gen. C.3.* Was never married. He was a poor wretch, but did nobody any harm. Being a very bad grinder he soon changed to peddling, and travelled about selling articles made of wire. Was killed by a motor accident.

*Gen. D.2.* The man has always earned a livelihood by peddling, grinding, and travelling about with a merry-go-round, assisted by his wife and his children. They travel about the whole country, their caravan waggon being drawn by a lorry. The articles that they sell are chiefly brushes and wood wares. Since 1934 they have frequently received public aid.

There are 5 sons, the eldest of whom is apparently the best from a eugenic point of view. He is a chauffeur, and the only form of relief he has ever received is winter relief in 1933. The 4 others live together with the remaining part of the family or in close contact with it, staying mostly in garden-houses and the like. They pick up a living as pedlars and grinders, they frequently apply for relief, and seem unwilling to adapt themselves to normal conditions with regular work. The youngest son but one is only just able to write his name, for which reason he has great difficulty in obtaining a situation as errand-boy. He picks out refuse from dust-bins, and goes about selling various goods in the streets. At one time it was tried to support this trade but apparently with no success.

## GENERATION A

Ab. 1800-1870

3 women, first ancestresses of families III, IV, and V, also belong to this family, but their relationship to the first ancestor could not be cleared up.

☐ Grinder in Schleswig, receiving poor relief.

## GENERATION B

Ab. 1825-1900

—8 children; but apparently only 3 of them have come to Denmark. 1 has possibly come to Sweden.

—☐ M. w. family I, B.1.  
1.

—☐ M. w. family III, B.6. See  
2. text.

—☐ M. w. a. family VIII, C.2.  
3. b. family III, C.2.

## GENERATION C

Ab. 1865-

—☐ M. w. a grinder.  
1.

—☐ M. w. a grinder, later resident pack-master. After his death again travelling.  
2. Unm. grinder.  
3. Incompetent.  
—☐ M. w. a grinder. Illiterate.  
4.

—☐ Fair traveller, grinder, artiste.  
5.

—☐ Travels, m. w. member of  
6. fam. I.  
—☐ Died very young.  
7.  
—☐ M. w. fam. I, C.9.  
8.  
—☐ M. w. a pedlar.  
9.

TABLE III  
FAMILY No. II

## GENERATION D

Ab. 1885

—☐ M. w. a pedlar.  
1.

—☐ M. w. family IV,  
2. D.12. Grinder, pedlar, fair traveller. See text.

—☐ M. w. a joiner and fireman  
3. in Norway.

—☐ Widow of a pedlar, travels.

—☐ M. w. D.7. Pedlar. See text.

—☐ Widow. Resident.

—Several children, who are all of them said to travel.

—☐ M. w. family III, D.8.

—☐ M. w. D.4.

—☐ M. w. family III, E.6. Artiste,  
8. pedlar, grinder. See text.

—☐ Cretin. Died in an asylum.

—☐ Pedlar, grinder, artiste. See  
10. text.

—☐ Brush-maker, pedlar.

—☐ Artiste, keeper of whistling  
12. shop. Feeble-minded. See text.

—☐ Artiste, pedlar.

—☐ Attending a school for back-  
14. ward children.

—Children unknown.

—☐ Pedlar

—15. Two or three children

## GENERATION E

Ab. 1910-

—4 children, one of whom m.  
w. No. 8.

—☐ Chauffeur, manages for  
6. himself.

—☐ Pedlar, grinder, "Klunser."

—☐ Pedlar. M. w. a cousin.

—☐ Pedlar, grinder, "Klunser."

—☐ Pedlar.

—4 under-age children.

—1 child.

—4 children.

—3 ☐, 1 ☐, under age. See father.

—Some children.

—2 children. See parents.

—3 children. See father.

—2 children. See father.

—2 children.

—1 child.

—3 children.

## GENERATION F

Ab. 1935-

*Gen. D.4.* The mother of this man, a daughter of *gen. B.2.*, belongs to the intelligent part of the family, thus having at a grown-up age taught herself how to read and write. She married a peasant from North Jutland, who in his early days travelled as a grinder and with swing-boats, but later became resident, getting a situation as a pack-master in a large firm for the moving of furniture in Copenhagen. His mother was a daughter of a farmer, but that was the only piece of information he would give as to his parentage. Probably he was the black sheep of the family, but in the main he managed, however, till his death without receiving public aid. After his death his wife resumed her travelling life.

Her son (*D.4.*), who makes us a call, tells the following about himself: Learned how to grind already in childhood. When his parents moved to Copenhagen, his father wanted him to get a proper training for some occupation or other. He began by washing plates in a hotel. From there he came to one of our most fashionable restaurants, where he was soon discovered to be of great powers. He was equipped with a livery and was allowed to wait on in the restaurant. All went well, although he had to endure much teasing on account of his gipsy descent, until one day he beat a junior waiter, who had banged a swing-door on him, just as he came along with a pile of plates. Immediately after that he ran away, and was already the next day seen to walk about the streets with his grinding cart. Several attempts were made at inducing him to come back, a. o. the head waiter is said to have tried to smooth over the affair; but in vain, for he had made up his mind not to be a subordinate again. The roving spirit, the longing for the unrestricted life had awakened in him; he never again returned to regular work. Afterwards he has sometimes been wondering at himself for having been glad to leave the elegant, secure surroundings to live his life on the high road, but he puts it down to a craving for a travelling life and for liberty coming from within, which makes a life as an ordinary citizen unattractive to him. He cannot submit to being ordered about by others.

In summer he lives with his relations in a caravan waggon, earning a livelihood by grinding, riveting, brush-making, and by selling paper flowers of his own making. Now he is also in possession of swing-boats. He is greatly offended at having to leave his waggon

in winter "for sanitary reasons" to live in a wretched gloomy flat in the poor quarter of the town.

He has a surprisingly objective way of looking at himself and at gipsies on the whole. He describes them as being extremely distrustful, "because they so seldom come across real friends." They are unwilling to talk of their ancestors, even to their nearest relations. Outside persons have great difficulty in coming into touch with them and to gain their confidence, because generally gipsies think that all interest taken in them has something to do with the police.

This man himself makes a very clever and quick-witted impression. You cannot pull his leg. He is distrustfull, but when first he feels confident, he is exceedingly kind and eloquent. However, his confidence does not go so far as to submit to being photographed. Has a considerable feeling of his own worth, thinks much of his own powers, and is not the least impressed by us "private individuals," who make life far too complicated. Is said to have stammered rather much in childhood and in his young years, but that is no longer the case. Yet he says that he begins to stammer again, if f. i. he is to appear before a feared chief constable.

He is a small stocky man to look at with fairly light hair and blue eyes, by no means differing from the average population. But his psyche betrays his gipsy descent, having very little in common with the Jutlandish peasant.

He has received a great deal of public aid, but has never been in conflict with the police.

*Gen. D.7.* This woman is married with the man described above, who is her cousin. Her mother is of rather weak intellect, and she is an illiterate.

*A visit to her home.* A small, gloomy flat in the centre of the town, consisting of a narrow passage, a small kitchen, and 2 small front rooms. 2 wooden chairs, a table, and a divan make up the whole furniture of the sitting-room, not forgetting an imposing wireless. Laundry hangs to dry in the passage and in the kitchen. The woman is found in the act of washing, and the kitchen table is scattered with paper daffodils. With a little uneasiness, yet with kindness she invites us to come in. A boy 9 months old thrones

alone on the divan, sucking a thick crust of black bread. 2 boys are playing near the window. There is an Afric heat in the room. On the walls there are bright copper things together with 2 much faded family portraits. Her husband and her eldest children are not in. The postman comes to get a receipt; however, she has such difficulty in writing a signature that at last it has to be done for her.

She is a typical gipsy to look at, rather pretty with black hair and dark eyes.

We talk of this, that, and the other, but she is on her guard, so we get no information as to her family. She displays great uneasiness, because we have photographed the children during our visit. Indeed, her husband has never been in conflict with the police (this piece of information is a stock cliché), but "let us touch wood," you never know what the children may run up against, and then it would be a sin and a shame to have given away certain information and distinguishing marks. Seems to be a good mother to her children. She is not particularly gifted, but hardly inferior, however. She tells me spontaneously that she is able to read fluently—gives no evidences of it, however—but that she has some trouble with the writing; indeed she knows the letters, but has difficulty in spelling. She will not put it down to a lacking school-learning, but is of opinion that it is due to lacking powers in this field. She is somewhat obsequious, and not free from begging a bit too much. Like her husband she has a feeling of her own worth, particularly she is proud of her own children versus "better-class children." of whose mode of living and education she has some confused ideas.

In determining the colour of her hair and her eyes she chooses, curiously enough, two colours that are far too light. There can hardly be any doubt that she pretends to be fairer than she really is. The same is the case with her children, as will be seen later.

*The children (gen. E.).* The eldest boy came one day to hand back a lamp, which his father had borrowed. "With compliments from my father I was to say that I might stay a little while." He is a charming little fellow of 14, a typical gipsy to look at, dark hair, large brown eyes, and a dark hue.

The school reports as follows of the boy when he was 12 years of age: His power of acquiring knowledge and accomplishments is

good, works with rather great concentration, takes a particular interest in the oral lessons, at which his marks are tolerably good. As to conduct nothing remarkable. Now and then a little trouble with his school-fellows, whom, however, he manages with no great difficulty on account of his greater age (12 years of age on the 4th form). No truancy, has no nicknames. Is not quite reliable. An intelligence test a. m. Binet-Simon: Passes all the tests at the age level of 9. Picture tests at the age level of 13: All explanations particularly good. Chronological age 12.25. Mental age 11.8. I.Q. 96.

When tested now 2 years later his I.Q. is again found to be in the nineties, although on an immediate view one should take the boy to be far more intelligent. The comparatively low figure seems to be attributable to the insufficient school-learning, for the boy is highly capable of reasoning for himself. He is very frank during the test, unconstrained, works with concentration.

His manners are a mixture of childishness and maturity, suggesting that on certain points he has gained a far greater experience in life than those of his own age from a more respectable milieu. The life of vagabondage does not seem to attract him. On being asked what he will do when he becomes a man, he answers, "I don't know yet, but at any rate I should prefer to be resident." On being asked whether the same is the case with his siblings, he answers that they prefer a travelling life, so his utterances are hardly dictated by a wish to be nice.

The eldest boy but one, who is 12 years of age, has blue eyes and comparatively light hair, of which he is very proud. His school gives him a very high character: His power of acquiring knowledge is good. Takes a particular interest in all oral lessons, but has some difficulty in spelling. Works with concentration, is very diligent and solicitous about his school-work, although the view of his home towards school is rather indifferent. Character: Good, helpful, and honest, liked both by teachers and school-fellows.

His father adds the following to this characterization: The boy knows more of life than is good for him, thus he knows how to trade as well as any grown-up person. All strangers like him, because he understands in a shocking degree how to simulate; is not so nice and unaffected as he appears to be, but he does not lie.



With all respect for the school we are inclined to think that his father's characterization is nearer the truth, and that the form-masters, like many others, have to some extent become captivated by this certainly very charming little fellow.

During our conversation he displays a pronounced interest in his school-work. His I.Q. a. m. Binet-Simon is 111. His intellect is exceedingly good, he has a very lively imagination, and an incredible talking gear. He is full of high spirits and joy of life, but we must affirm his father's words that he knows more than is good for him. In spite of his garrulity he is rather distrustful, as appears from such remarks as, "Are we who travel the only persons to be examined? People always take us to be a kind of foreigners, but my name is — — —, and I was born in Copenhagen, I *am* a Dane, and I can prove it by a certificate of baptism any time and anywhere." On being asked whether he ever engages into fights, he answers, "Sometimes I have to, because they are rather bad at giving nicknames, they call me a gipsy, but that always results in a box on the ear," which sounds very likely.

The day after his visit a very angry father called on me; the boy had come to me without leave from home, and on his return he was unwilling to make confession with regard to a possible reward. His reward was, however, a chocolate éclair and 50 Øre, which he hid carefully, hoping, perhaps, that he need not show the money at home.

His father's call is expressive of the distrust that one always meets with.

Like number two the third brother, 9 years of age, does not in appearance differ from other Danish children. The school reports as follows: Makes an intelligent impression. The fact that in spite of this he attends a special form for backward children and makes a somewhat bewildered impression, is probably due to his frequently changing school. His inclination to petty thefts from his school-fellows is probably chiefly attributable to thoughtlessness and confused notions of morality. Otherwise he is a compliant and kind-hearted boy, whose conduct is irreproachable. There was a time when he was teased with the nickname of gipsy, but that is no longer the case.

On coming to see us he is quite unaffected, good, and compliant, unawed by the unaccustomed surroundings, exactly like his brothers, but his manners are more subdued. He displays a lively imagination, is full of good ideas, and shows a practical sense. When talking with him one does not understand that he has to attend a special form for backward children. I.Q. a. m. Binet-Simon 98 with range of variation from 7 to 13 years of age. It appears that the boy knows but very few letters and consequently cannot read, which, as we have seen, the school is inclined to attribute to the irregular life he leads. Furthermore his mother tells us that he is spoilt and lazy. Thus we get a plausible explanation of the facts that our immediate impression does not correspond to the I.Q. found and that he has been placed on a special form for backward children.

Moreover he has a slight defect of speech, that is a slight lisp, and he feels a little for his words.

A sister of theirs, who is older than all the boys, has the same dark, outlandish appearance as her eldest brother. Her school reports as follows: Power of acquiring knowledge good. Works with concentration. Reads without difficulty. Oral lessons very good. Is a kind and sweet girl, liked by her teachers. Her school-fellows are not always kind to her, they tease her, because she is very vulnerable and reacts immediately to their teasing. She is easy to manage, but extremely jealous of her honour and fond of praise. She is supposed to be honest.

She too proves to have an I.Q. in the nineties, although she seems more intelligent than corresponding to this figure.

Curiously enough the two eldest siblings, who are dark and outlandish by appearance, have a quiet and steady view of life—perhaps inherited from the Jutlandish peasants—whereas at least the most intelligent one of the two others more ordinary-looking boys has a typical gipsy mentality.

*Gen. D.8.* Both conjugal partners are gipsies. The man is an artiste and a brush-maker, and besides he travels about with swing-boats. Ekes out his income by means of public aid and by begging, for which he has been punished.

Of their daughter her school reports as follows: She will not be moved this year. Attends school regularly in winter. Her power of acquiring knowledge is slow, her attention being easily diverted. Not particularly diligent. Her relation to teachers and school-fellows is good. She is a good little girl, who is very grateful for kindness. She becomes disheartened very easily when teased by her school-fellows. Is somewhat selfish wanting that special attention should be paid to her. She is proud of her family speaking often of her father's and her own accomplishments as artistes. Determination of intelligence a. m. Binet-Simon: I.Q. 97.

*Gen. D.10.* The man earns a livelihood as a brush-maker, a pedlar, a contortionist, a fire-king, and a grinder. Besides he receives a great deal of aid.

In connection with a case concerning a possible removal of the children from their home the Child-Welfare Committee reports as follows: The married couple imbecile (?). The man stammers, is difficult to talk with, not at all able to reason, is "wise" in his own conceit. Their home is rather neglected; the bed-clothes are, however, comparatively clean. The plan of removing the children was given up, because the relations of parents and children are very affectionate, so that the Committee simply has not the heart to do it.

One is at no loss to understand that the Child-Welfare Committee has come to the above decision, when one sees the affection the parents of these families often have for their children, and vice versa.

But the Committee insisted on it that the parents should send their children to a kindergarten, costfree of course.

*A visit to the kindergarten.* The children do not differ in appearance from the other children, they have no gipsy stamp whatever. They are very charming and seem to be of normal intellect. The eldest boy, 5 years of age, has from the very first day in the kindergarten attracted the girls. He causes no difficulties, but was on his arrival extremely neglected. Boy No. 2 is very hot-tempered, but otherwise like other children. The children were once in a summer camp. Here they were declared to be "brutish" in their dispositions, which, however, the kindergarten has not observed.

*Gen. D.11.* The man is a brush-maker. Both he and his wife look neat and tidy. They have 2 children. The elder, who is 9 years old, goes to school. School report: Was last year on a revision form. She takes no interest in learning, and she does not keep quiet for 2 minutes together. Has to be placed at a table standing by itself not to disturb the other children. She is sometimes rather hard upon her school-fellows, who accordingly do not like her.

A determination of intelligence, made by the school psychologist, shows her I.Q. to be 91. All in all she comes fairly well through the tests of thought, and likewise through the auditive inculcation. She is a nice little girl with a somewhat labile attention. She is confident and eager, and quick to adapt herself to the tasks, which it does not take her long to understand. *She is not good at reading.* The parents are very fond of the child, and she is clever at assisting her mother at home, although she is also there somewhat restless.

*Gen. D.12.* In 1928 the I.Q. of this man was found to be 66.2. He was at that time an artiste and extremely poor. Is described by an official as a miserable individual given to drink. Was sentenced for having kept a whistling-shop. The conditions of his home were very poor. His wife once left him for some time, because he was unable to maintain her and their child. He received a great deal of municipal aid. Died a few years ago.

*Gen. D.13.* School report: A cheerful, quick-witted, and bright child. His great love of recounting comes out strongly. His conduct is good, and he is on good terms with his class-mates. On account of the vagabond life the family leads and the resulting constant changing of school, his ordinary school-learning leaves much to be desired. But he displays a greater knowledge of many things in life than is usual for a boy of his age. His mother keeps him neat and clean, and his parents are concerned that he does well at school.

Now he earns a livelihood by making brushes, singing in the court-yards, and sometimes by acting as a contortionist in various rather small circuses. Is living in a bad caravan waggon. His young lady is also an artiste, and she helps him. Has no other occupation. Receives public aid.

*Gen. D.14.* School report: Is on a special form for backward children. Is somewhat flippant, never at a loss for an answer, unbalanced, and difficult to manage.

From the 5th form for backward children: She is a very crafty little girl, sometimes causing a great deal of trouble, because she picks a quarrel with her school-fellows, beats them, and makes mischief. At other times she is kind, helpful, liberal, and "charming." Her powers are fairly good, but she is too restless to settle down to her school-work. She is the most quick-witted child on her form, has a strong memory, and a faculty for rendering an adventure or a story.

Thus she is, according to the description, a typical gipsy: the most quick-witted girl, with a strong memory, and in spite of that belonging in the special school for backward children; and with regard to her character the usual mixture of good and evil.

*Conclusion.* No member of this family has managed to go far, but they are generally industrious, and live by selling goods of their own making. A great number of them are of weak intellect and only just manage to keep body and soul together.

Of the children in this family we get a rather good impression through the various school reports. Generally they are regarded to be more intelligent than corresponding to the found intelligence quotient which is also our impression; the irregular school attendance having no doubt a considerable share in the comparatively low figure found at the determination of intelligence. However, there can hardly be any doubt that their lacking power of concentration is a concurrent cause of their insufficient school-learning.

On the other hand these children are remarkably knowing on many other points, which is a natural consequence of the fact that ever since they were quite young, they have been brought up to help to the support of the family, just as the life of vagabondage probably contributes to giving them their confident behaviour and to their being unawed by everything new.

### FAMILY No. III

*Gen. A.* The man was a wandering grinder living besides largely by poor relief. By his wife he had 5 children. From about 1840 till about 1860 his wife was well-known to the police in Schleswig-Holstein, because she went about begging and stealing, and besides she vagabondized. Her description, when in 1845 she was arrested, is as follows: "Of average stature, has black hair and black eye-brows, a low forehead, brown eyes, a pointed nose and chin, an oval face, a brownish hue."

About 1845 she must have left her husband, for she vagabondized together with a well-known tramp and died later in a poor-house. The man had 2 children by the first ancestress of family I.

*Gen. B.5.* The man was a grinder, who came to Denmark from Schleswig together with his wife. He was born in Rendsburg, she was born in Kiel. One of their sons tells us the following about them: His father was by exterior rather fair and had greyish blue eyes. An instrument-maker in Rendsburg had taught him how to grind instruments, an art which he again taught his sons. His mother was very dark and outlandish to look at. She had been well educated. Her father was a grinder, who travelled about, but nevertheless he saw to it that she attended school, so accordingly she could both read and write. Both his father and his mother spoke the Rommany language, but they did not avail themselves of it in ordinary conversation, nor did they teach it to their children; generally they spoke it when they did not want their children to understand what they said.

*Gen. B.7.* Since his 18th year of age he has been travelling about as a pedlar and with a merry-go-round, never staying in one

GENERATION A  
Ab. 1790-1870

○ Belongs to family II, but the nearer relationship is unknown. Often punished for vagabondage. Is characterized as a gipsy by the police and the parson.

□ Convicted grinder from Holstein.

○ The first ancestress of family I. (Mönkemöller's family?).

GENERATION B  
Ab. 1820-1930

— 3 daughters and 1 son remained in Holstein. One daughter is known to have been punished several times for vagabondage and to have had an illegitimate child by a grinder. Another daughter lived by poor relief.

— □ Grinder, m. w. family IV, 5. B.4.

— ○ M. w. family II, B.2.

— □ Fair traveller. See text.

The first ancestor of this family seems to have come to Holstein as an enlisted soldier.

GENERATION C  
Ab. 1850-

— □ Artiste, besides unknown.

1. — □ Grinder, musician. M. w. family II, B.3. See text.  
2. — ○ M. w. 1) family V, C.1.  
3. 2) at the age of 70 with a convicted perpetrator of acts of violence aged ab. 50.

— □ Fair traveller. M. w. family I, C.3.

— ○ M. w. grinder. See text.

— □ Vagabond born out of wedlock. A tuberculous wretch. Punished for receiving.

— ○ M. w. a waffle-baker at the Dyrehavsbakken. See text.

GENERATION D  
Ab. 1885-

— □ Fair traveller. M. w. family V, 1. D.6.

— ○ M. w. a tooth-athlete and brush-maker. Herself an artiste. Some of her children by a pedlar.

— □ Pedlar, unknown.

— ○ M. w. family IV, D.14.

— □ Fair traveller. See text.

— ○ Fortune-teller, typical gipsy. M. w. family I, E.1.

— ○ M. w. 1) family I, E.1. 2) a pedlar. See text.

— ○ M. w. family II, D.7a. — Children unknown.

— □ Workman. In childhood under the care of the Child-Welfare Committee on acc. of stealing and vagabondage. — 4 children.

— □ Artiste, pedlar, beggar, procurer, whistling-shop keeper.

— □ Pedlar, messenger, waffle-baker, brush-maker.

— ○ Domestic servant, most frequently unemployed.

— □ Pedlar, messenger.

— ○ At home.

— □ Feeble-minded, paralytic.

— 2 ○ and 3 □, under age.

GENERATION E  
Ab. 1905-

— 2 □ and 1 ○ "difficult children."

— ○ Prostitute.

— □ Feeble-minded.

— ○ M. w. family II, D.8.

— ○ M. w. an artiste and musician. — 2 children.

— □ Weaver.

— ○ Of weak intellect, easily moved. A child by fam. I, E.14. M. w. fam. I, D.36.

— □ Fair traveller.

10.

— 4 children. See parents.

— See parents.

GENERATION F  
Ab. 1925-

TABLE IV  
FAMILY No. III

place for any length of time. His longest stay in one country town has been 2 years. Once he received poor relief for some time to be able to pay alimony to a child born out of wedlock, but otherwise he managed without aid, until he began to receive old age pension. An envious neighbour lodged a complaint against his receiving old age pension despite the fact that he owned a little horse, a street organ, an old merry-go-round, and a caravan waggon. It appeared, however, that the things were quite worthless, and that he only had the horse, because he could not find it in his heart to part with it. The whole affair ended in a serious caution to the complainer. On this same occasion everybody gave the man a high character.

*Gen. C.2.* This man was first mentioned in 1890, when he was treated in hospital for an incised wound in his stomach. Was then a grinder and a musician. Some relief was granted him for his treatment. After his discharge he wandered about the country, and from 1923 he received old age pension. For a number of years he lived together with family II, gen. B.3, after her husband had left her. After her death he went to live with her married daughter, and is now staying with a "daugther's daughter," fam. IV, gen. D.15.

A social inspector, who paid a visit to the home, when the man was 83 years old, states that she found him in a rather miserable condition, wanting clothes, footwear, etc.

But on seeing the old grinder in his 88th year of age we get a quite different impression. He is still living with his "daughter's daughter" and her husband in a small red house in one of the suburbs of Copenhagen. We need not for long inquire our way in the neighbourhood, they all seem to know the old grinder, but doubt that we shall find him in, because generally he is on the move all day long with his grinding cart. However, we succeed in finding him at the local joiner's. The joiner is in the act of mending his cart, and while this is going on, we walk home together to a cup of morning coffee. On our way he is greeted several times by the shout of, "How do you do, grandpapa." He is tall and strongly built, having no doubt been a stately man to look at in his prime of life. He has greyish blue eyes and says himself that in his youth he was fair like his father. He does not exactly look like



a gipsy, but apparently family III numbers several rather fair members, and he has the same oblong face and large nose seen in many others of this family. His dress consisting of a cap, a leather waistcoat, a black coat, and black trousers, bears traces of exposure to all kinds of weather, but it corresponds with his trade. He is still mentally alert and full of high spirits and humour. He is very intelligent, is able to read and write, and takes a great interest in the political events. He is somewhat troubled by a rather advanced deafness. On the other hand his vision is well-preserved, he can even read the newspapers without using spectacles. On being asked whether he uses a stick, he answers with a twinkle in his eye, "Yes, when I want to show off or play the beau, but if you and I should race, I am sure you would be the loser." For many years he was a musician, playing at many dances in the country, either on the violin or on the guitar. But now his fingers have become too stiff, so that he has to be content with the grinding. He is perfectly at ease and hopes that he will attain the age of 100 or more.

We get a very good impression of this old man. As a matter of fact it is a valuable experience to have made his acquaintance, as is the case with many other old members of these families.

*Gen. C.5.* She was first married with a grinder by whom she had 3 children. By the time of his death the conjugal partners did not cohabit. Of late years she has been travelling about with another man. She has a caravan waggon of her own, in which she travels about in summer, and despite the fact that she is now 71 years old, she still goes about grinding and riveting. She is troubled a great deal by pains in her legs on account of varices, but not even this can restrain her. In winter she is formally staying with a married daughter to be able to get her old age pension, but in reality she makes numerous excursions to relatives in the country, as she has great difficulty in keeping quiet for long together. She is able to read, but can write nothing except her name.

*Gen. C.7.* The man is a pedlar chiefly selling brushes; but although he is assisted by his sons, he can by no means support his family. At one time he also tried his hand at the baking of waffles at the "Dyrehavsbakken." His wife is said to be "weak of

nerve." The family has received a lot of relief, probably mainly on account of the large flock of children. The Child-Welfare Committee states as follows: "The family travels about to fairs peddling a little, and though the gipsy blood has in this case become rather diluted, they still have their peculiar ideas. Thus f. i. they cannot see the necessity of school education; nor do they find it improper to send their children out peddling. Regular work does not attract them. Some young people are always seen to be idling round the waggon, passing the time by playing and smoking. The children are well cared for."

*His eldest son* began to vagabondize already at the age of 17. Since his 18th year of age he has been receiving aid almost permanently. He is a contortionist performing in small public houses. Has been punished for the keeping of a whistling shop. Is denounced anonymously for procuring. Is said to ill-treat his wife. Is lying, deceitful and work-shy. His wife came to town as a maid in a hotel. She developed salpingitis and began to apply for relief. She is uncleanly, work-shy, and lying.

*Gen. D.5.* The man is the owner of swing-boats and a merry-go-round. In summer the family travels about the country, in winter it lives by selling brushes, by begging, and by social relief. In summer they live in a caravan waggon; nevertheless the man has a motor-car of his own. Towards spring-time he generally applies to the office for social relief for a starting capital, and his request has a tendency to increase year by year. If the aid is not granted him, he always manages to start without it. In winter he receives a great deal of relief, but he does not take it unreservedly. If f. i. too much control is required, he prefers to get the money by begging.

*A 13 year old son*, who makes us a call, tells us with enthusiasm of the life in the waggon and on the high roads. "Two steps down, and we are out in the open." The family seems to be doing exceedingly well. "My mother has just got a coffe-set at 200 Kr." The boy attends school in all the towns or villages at which he arrives. In the evening he is in charge of the ball-tent, where he gets 10 % of the profits. For the money thus earned he buys clothes, "but also presents for my father and my mother." He is a

healthy, well-shaped, dark-eyed boy with polite manners and a very charming smile, and possessing an experience that is rather unusual for a boy of his age. He is quite unawed by the strange surroundings, is gifted and lively, but not boasting. A determination of intelligence shows his I.Q. to be 105. He works very quickly.

His school reports as follows: "Naturally his irregular schooling is a disadvantage to his work at school. But I can point out no other detrimental effect of his wandering and unsettled life; on the contrary it rather seems to me to have developed his character. He is reliable, truthful, and his behaviour is extremely praiseworthy." His two sisters likewise attending school are characterized as diligent, gifted, and well-behaved.

*Gen. D.7.* She was first married with a man belonging to family I. After 6 years of married life she divorced him and is now married again, but not with a "traveller." Yet the married couple travelled about for some years in a caravan waggon. Now they are resident. The man is a deputy landlord, but besides he goes about selling brushes. His wife keeps the staircases of the premises, but that does not suit her. We pay her a visit. At a first glance one should not take her to be a gipsy on account of her relative fairness. But she has the typical long face and the dark, gruff voice so often met with in gipsies. Likewise she wears the ornaments of amber and silver prevailing with gipsies. She is kindly and obliging, when first the suspiciousness always present has been overcome. She makes an intelligent impression, and also she seems to be reliable, as we have had occasion to control the correctness of several of her statements. She seems to have got accustomed to an ordered life, not missing the travelling life.

She has 3 children, who are said to be clever and of normal intellect.

*Gen. E.7.* Was very early engaged to be married and ran away with her fiancé. Was for some time placed in a home instituted by the "Society of Danish Women's Welfare," where they seem to have been rather captivated by her. She is described as being very good-looking, not particularly intelligent, but by no means imbecile. The whole affair ended in her marriage with her fiancé, who had been

punished twice for theft. The married couple began at once to live in a waggon as pedlars, brush-makers, and artistes. They had a tent with a stage and a crier's platform. The man performed as a fakir, a contortionist, a musical clown, and the like. In winter they have nearly always received public aid, whereas in summer they have mostly been able to manage for themselves. Yet one year they received aid from no less than 16 towns, chiefly for the transportation of their waggon.

*Gen. E.8.* School report: "He was compliant, ingratiatory, and polite, but sometimes inclined to evade the truth." At the age of 10 he got mixed up in an affair of indecency. The police had him under examination, but no more came out of the affair in his case. At the age of 17 he was charged with receiving. He was then according to all statements collected about him a clever and quick-witted young man. For some years he was a buttons, later a weaver.

*Conclusion.* The members of this family have no particular features by which they differ from the other "travellers," excepting perhaps their exterior, which is less outlandish. They have all of them been living in extremely humble circumstances as pedlars, grinders, and artistes on a small scale, and they have received a great deal of relief. As to intellect there are among them both feeble-minded individuals, individuals of weak intellect, and also very intelligent individuals. There is no great criminality among them.

## FAMILY No. IV

*Gen. B.2.* The man was, according to his own statement born at Preetz, but nothing can be found there proving the correctness of this statement. Nor do we know anything as to the birth place of his wife. By the time of the birth of their first son they were not married. Nothing is known as to where and when the wedding took place. During the first years of their marriage, until the nineties, they had no fixed abode, but travelled about the country, at least till 1874 as grinders. Later the man established a circus, which was, however, very soon taken over by one of his sons. They owned a small estate in North Seeland, where they farmed the land in the manner that they cropped the fields in spring, after which they locked the house and left not to return till it was time to reap the corn. However, in their old days they lived there all the year round.

Among his relatives the man had the by-name of "the great." One of his sons, who is now 74 years of age, tells us that when this by-name had been given to his father it was not only because he was great and strong, but also because he was regarded as the chief of the tribe. He had never gone to school and had never been taught anything, but he was very intelligent, had taught himself how to read and write, and knew the whole bible by heart. The family came from all parts of the country to apply for his advice and assistance; he was very popular among them, and at the same time they had a great respect for him. He had an extraordinary ear for music, played on the violin. He did not, however, perform as a musician, but taught his children to play. He was not particularly outlandish to look at having light eyes and dark brown hair. He died several years before his wife, who soon after his death

GENERATION A  
Ab. 1790-1860

GENERATION B  
Ab. 1815-1930

GENERATION C  
Ab. 1840-

GENERATION D  
Ab. 1870-

GENERATION E  
Ab. 1900-

GENERATION F  
Ab. 1930-

☐ Circus manager.  
1. Small shop. M. w. family VIII, C.3. See text.

☐ Musician.  
2.

☐ Grinder, musician, mangler. See text.  
3.

Possibly some children, who have not come to Denmark.

☐ M. w. family VIII, B.1.  
1.

☐ Grinder, fair-traveller.  
2. Owner of a small circus. House-owner. M. w. family V, B.1. See text.

☐ Grinder, m. w. member of family II.

☐ Grinder. See text.  
3. (Descendants, see table VI).

☐ M. w. family III, B.5.  
4.

☐ M. w. family V, B.2.  
5.

☐ M. w. family VII, B.1.  
6.

☐ Musician, grinder, pedlar.  
4. M. w. family VIII, D.3. See text.

☐ Musician. Owner of a small circus. See text. (Descendants in table VI).  
5.

☐ M. w. a musician. See text.  
6. (Descendants in table VI).

☐ Pedlar, artiste. See text.  
7. (Descendants see table VI).

☐ Artiste, later tradesman and owner of temperance hotel.  
1. ☐ M. w. a master painter.  
☐ Waiter.  
☐ Hotel maid.  
☐ Some unkn. children.

☐ † artiste, m. w. an electrician.  
2.

☐ † artiste.  
3.

☐ M. w. artiste, musician, workman.  
4.

☐ Divorced by an artiste. Circus attendant. Boarding-house.  
5.

☐ Installer, electro-mechanician.  
6.

☐ Punishment for fraud.  
6. Messenger, circus groom, mechanic. Bicycle theft. Receiving.  
7.

☐ Prostitute, m. w. an epileptic workman.  
8.

☐ Smith.  
9.

☐ Chauffeur, street-hawker, procurer.  
10.

☐ M. w. a silver-plater.  
11.

☐ M. w. family II, D.2.  
12.

☐ Blind. M. w. an artiste, grinder, epileptic. See text.  
13.

☐ Fair-traveller, m. w. family III, D.4. See text.  
14.

☐ M. w. artiste, pedlar. See text.  
15.

☐ Pedlar, grinder, musician, "Klunser." See text.  
16.

☐ M. w. a pedlar. Of weak intellect. The children by another, tuberculous pedlar given to drink.  
17.

☐ M. w. family VIII, E.17.  
18.

☐ Grinder, pedlar, "Klunser." Often punished for thefts.  
19.

☐ M. w. fam. I, E.2.  
20.

☐ Pedlar, "Klunser."  
21.

☐ M. w. family I, E.4.  
22.

☐ M. w. a pedlar.  
23.

☐ At home.  
24.

☐ Apprenticed to a gardener, but fled. Pedlar. Pro. tem. in prison for theft

☐ M. w. a waiter.  
☐ Hair-dresser, musician.  
☐ Artiste.  
☐ Orchestra assistant.  
☐ Music-hall dancer.  
☐ Cigar maker.

☐ M. w. a waiter.

☐ Fate unknown.

☐ Fate unknown.

☐ Fate unknown.

☐ Fate unknown.

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☐ Fate unknown.

☐ Fate unknown.

1 child.

1 child.

3 children.

1 child.

TABLE V  
FAMILY NO. IV  
(continued in table VI)

resumed the travelling life together with various members of the family, a. o. a son and a daughter-in-law.

Her daughter-in-law tells us about her that she was an unusually active old woman, who travelled about until she died at the age of 90. She was very dark and outlandish to look at, and full of life and fiery spirits, very faithful and devoted to the people she liked, but simply terrible towards those who had incurred her disgrace. She loved nature and the unrestrained life on the high road. Her favourite occupation was fishing, and her daughter-in-law still remembers her indescribable joy, when one day in her 89th year of age she succeeded in catching a huge carp.

*Gen. B.3.* The man was a wandering grinder. Miskow says about him that he took part in the war of 1848. After the war he met in Glücksburg the woman who was to become his wife. She was a daughter of a merchant in the town, and in Miskow's work we get a very romantic description of how this daughter of a wealthy merchant immediately fell in love with the handsome black-haired youth and married him in 1850. Presumably the real facts were more prosaic. The young man was when they married 25 years old, and the merchant's daughter about 40 years of age. As far as can be made out she had an illegitimate child, so she may have found it expedient to disappear towards the north with the wandering grinder. Nothing is known as to her appearance, but she must have been of robust health. She survived her husband and died at the age of 92. As a widow she stayed with her eldest daughter. She lived by old age pension. This married couple must have been rather clever to judge from their descendants. They had 2 children, 1 son and 1 daughter.

*The son, gen. C.8.* was a musician and gardener. He married a cooper's daughter, who was a dressmaker. We do not know whether he had been leading a life of vagabondage after he had arrived at a grown-up age, but from 1888 till some years after 1920 he lived in the same town, where the family was well-known and esteemed. Also to judge from his letters to Miskow he was nice-mannered and cultured, his handwriting was neat, his orthography correct. He is described as a tall, dark-hued man with a characteristic hooked nose, on the whole rather outlandish to look at. He had 5 children, 2 sons and 3 daughters. The daughters, who have all of them re-

GEN. C  
Ab. 1840-

GENERATION D  
Ab. 1870-

GENERATION E  
Ab. 1900-

GEN. F.  
Ab. 1930-

5. <input type="checkbox"/>	25. <input type="checkbox"/> Musician, artiste, pedlar.	<input type="checkbox"/> Musician.
6. <input type="checkbox"/>	7 children. 1 is a café musician. The others ordinary fixed occupations.	<input type="checkbox"/> Musician.
	26. <input type="checkbox"/> Resident.	<input type="checkbox"/> At home.
	27. <input type="checkbox"/> M. w. fam. V, D.7.	Some children
7. <input type="checkbox"/>	28. <input type="checkbox"/> Grinder, pedlar, chauffeur. M. w. fam. V, D.10.	
	29. <input type="checkbox"/> M. 1) w. a musician, 2) w. fam. V, D.9.	<input type="checkbox"/> Difficult child.
	30. <input type="checkbox"/> Unm. housekeeper.	<input type="checkbox"/> Clerk.
	31. <input type="checkbox"/> Musician, resident.	<input type="checkbox"/> Hair-dresser, workman. Receiving aid.
8. <input type="checkbox"/> Musician, stable resident.	32. <input type="checkbox"/> Musician, resident.	<input type="checkbox"/> Clerk.
	33. <input type="checkbox"/> Accidentally killed.	<input type="checkbox"/> House-maid.
	34. <input type="checkbox"/> Shopkeeper.	
	35. <input type="checkbox"/> Sales-woman.	
<input type="checkbox"/> B.3.	36. <input type="checkbox"/> M. w. a mechanic.	3 children
	37. <input type="checkbox"/> Typographer.	<input type="checkbox"/> M w a moulder
	38. <input type="checkbox"/> M. w. a waiter.	2 children.
	39. <input type="checkbox"/> M. w. a master joiner.	
9. <input type="checkbox"/> M. w. joiner and musician.	40. <input type="checkbox"/> M. w. a ship-builder.	Many children.
	41. <input type="checkbox"/> Joiner, given to drink, vagabonds.	Workman.
	42. <input type="checkbox"/> "Artist painter."	1 child.
		Tub. o. t. lungs
		Joiner
		Workman. Convict.
		At home.
		Workman.
		Some children.
		Some children.

TABLE VI  
FAMILY No. IV  
(continued)



mained single, are in good and respectable situations. Both sons were musicians and married with daughters of ordinary citizens. One son was accidentally killed, the other travelled for some years as a musician, but by and by he became resident. For some time he had to apply for public aid, because he had developed tuberculosis of the lungs, but he has never since received any kind of relief.

Of his 4 children (gen. E) three do comparatively well. One son was in childhood under the charge of the Child-Welfare Committee. Has served an apprenticeship to hair-dressing, and was at first described as a nice-mannered young man, but later he got punished for stealing and receiving. After that he went on the tramp, but he has not sufficient practice to manage a situation at a hair-dresser's.

*Their daughter, gen. C.9,* was married with a journeyman-joiner and musician, whose father was a farmer and conductor, but no gipsy. 7 sons and 3 daughters were born to them. All the daughters have married artisans. Some of them are living in rather humble circumstances, whereas others are somewhat better off. None of them have ever been travelling. The eldest son became a typographer and manages for himself. Another son is an art dealer, and has been in conflict with law. A third son has served an apprenticeship to joining, but he is given to drink and is divorced by his wife. His children (gen. E.) have now and then received public aid.

In other words the following may be said about this family as a whole: All descendants of gen. B.3. have married into respectable families, have become resident, and most of them even honourable citizens managing for themselves.

*Gen. C.1.* The man was till his death manager of a fairly large and rather well-known circus. He owned an estate on which he lived in winter. His eldest daughter was an artiste in the circus of her parents. She is described as being small and dark, and not very confidence-inspiring to look at. She married a son of a teacher, who owned first a temperance hotel and later a cinema. She has an illegitimate son, who earns a livelihood as an artiste.

Another daughter is married with a circus performer. Her husband has been a ballsmen and has besides had various odd jobs. He has been punished for hotel fraud and offence against the motor

act. The married couple have 3 children, who seem to manage for themselves.

*Gen. C.3.* Till about the age of 30 the man was a musician, who travelled about playing together with his brothers. In 1888 he married, and from now on he lived by grinding. Excepting a little aid given him at a rather advanced age he has received nothing but old age pension. The home is described as dirty beyond belief, the members of the family as slovenly, they do not seem to make any great use of water and soap. The man is stated to look like a Polish Jew.

As to *his eldest son* it appears from the school register that he was lively, intelligent, well-behaved, and an able singer. He has the highest marks in nearly all oral subjects. Later in life he became an electrician, and developed into a rather smart business man. After 22 years of married life he divorced his somewhat weakly wife. The maintenance-allowances he was due to pay her came in very irregularly, and generally not at all, so that the relief fund had to step in. He has been punished for fraud.

*His eldest son but one* is characterized by his school as a not very pleasant pupil. His father recommends corporal chastisement. After his school years he became a messenger and a circus groom. Most of the cases against him involved payment of alimentation, which he neither could nor would pay, for which reason he had to work out part of it. Later he was punished for receiving and for thefts of bicycles. When he died he was buried at the public expense, although by that time he owned a small bicycle shop of his own.

*His youngest son* was during his first years in school good-natured, inoffensive, sociable, but lazy. Later he became thievish, lying, was not exactly brainless, was dishonest, remiss, and had no respect except for corporal punishment. Was in childhood mixed up in some affairs of petty thefts. Began already at the age of 20 to receive public aid, as after having been in hospital for a venereal disease he could not find a job again. Since then he has received relief rather frequently. He has been in prison for procuring.

*Gen. C.5.* For several years the man travelled about as a musician together with 2 brothers. They travelled particularly on

Lolland-Falster, where they went about playing on the estates. They met with a kind reception everywhere. Once they played for Holger Drachmann, the poet, and were greatly admired. But when he married, the travelling life with his brothers came to an end, and the married couple began to travel about alone with swing-boats and a merry-go-round. They visited the large country towns and earned a lot of money, until the Great War knocked them out. After the war they went to Sweden, where for several years they had "a fashionable music-hall with many prominent artistes." They worked hard and made rather a good profit. A few years ago they returned to Denmark, where they are now living in a neat little flat of 2 rooms on the skirts of the town. They are very industrious making elaborate paper flowers, which they sell to various department stores.

Calling on them in their home we find them busily engaged in this occupation, and they have hardly time to fold their arms and do nothing, while we are having a chat with them. This is, however, particularly the case with the wife, who is apparently, like in most other gipsy families, the one with whom the greater part of the work rests. She is nervous of not getting the orders ready in time, whereas her husband is most inclined to present us with as many flowers as we may want.

The old man is delightful to look at. His hair, which is thick and frizzled, is quite white, his eyes are dark and deep-set, and surrounded by numerous smiling wrinkles. His complexion has this pale-blue touch seen in certain gipsies. He is dressed in a bright blue shirt and a glaring green slip-over, in short just a model for a painter. The married couple are willing to tell us about themselves and their life, emphasizing that they need conceal nothing, yet they hope that "we won't write to the papers." But they do not like to speak of other members of the family. They used to travel about and loved it, but the frailties of old age have compelled them to give up this way of living. They both of them make an extremely industrious and honest impression, but while the woman gives expression to her concern on account of the hard times, having evidently a great deal of anxiety for daily bread, her husband shakes his head saying with an indulgent smile, "It will probably come out all right." He is a genuine gipsy, perfectly careless of to-morrow. The married couple have only one son.

*Their son* is like his father very dark and outlandish to look at. By profession he is a musician, but in winter he makes and sells paper flowers. For a number of years he was attached to his father's music-hall, but besides he has received a great deal of aid. His wife is a daughter of a tradesman.

On our paying a visit to his home we are informed that he and his family have temporarily gone to stay with his parents, while preparing to leave for the country with their caravan waggon. Here we find the man, his wife, 2 grown-up sons, a daughter-in-law, and a grandchild living in one not very large room. His wife makes an attractive and sensible impression. She is alone, her husband and her 2 sons having gone to the Zoological Gardens in order to photo the animals. The sons are musicians having rather good engagements during winter in small restaurants. Later we meet the younger son, who is very dark and outlandish to look at, neat and well-dressed, amiable and polite. He is very anxious to emphasize that his relatives aim at having as little intercourse as possible with the other "travellers," and at associating as far as possible with resident people.

*Gen. C.6.* This woman married a musician, who was not a "traveller," but a son of a stone-mason. He is described as a very good and clever man, gifted, and with an ear for music. At least among gipsies he has a reputation for having been an excellent musician. There are 7 children, who all of them seem to do well. The 2 eldest sons are musicians, one having a permanent engagement at an orchestra all the year round. One son is a tailor, and all 4 daughters have married men in comparatively good situations.

*Gen. C.7.* This man was for some time in his youth an artiste, but most of his life he has been a pedlar and a brush-maker. Is now living by old age pension. Before he married his present wife, he cohabited for a number of years with a woman, who is the mother of at least 3 of his 4 children.

Calling on them we find both the man and his wife at home. The man is profuse in his cordiality towards us, whereas his wife is hostile and distrustful. The married couple occupy a small flat consisting of 3 rooms in a dreary-looking street, but all windows are open, and the window sills are full of flowers and bird-cages.

The man is fair, but nevertheless he resembles his dark brother (gen. C.5.) a great deal, thus having the same charming smile. But he makes a far more insignificant impression, is hardly particularly intelligent, nor is he in possession of the industry displayed by his brother. However, it is some excuse for him that he suffers from a rather serious disease of the heart. He shows us with a certain pride the picture of a caravan waggon 7 to 8 yards long, which was for many years the home of the family, but which has now been sold.

We do not get much information as to their children. One son is a chauffeur, another son lives in the country. The 2 daughters are married and resident, as their husbands "have a house." The younger daughter has coal black hair; she is the pride of the family on account of her beauty.

*Gen. D.13.* This woman lives in a wooden barrack next door to her mother. She is totally blind, and accordingly she receives disablement benefit. Her husband suffers from epilepsy. He is a former artiste now living by peddling and grinding. In summer he and his wife go about singing in the court-yards.

On our coming to pay them a visit they are just returning arm in arm, he with the mandolin hanging in a sling on his shoulder, and with great hospitality they invite us to enter. The room is surprisingly neat with solid furniture, and everything is clean and in good repair. In the bedroom we meet with an astonishing spectacle. It is a cage reaching from the floor right up to the ceiling and occupying the whole of one corner of the room. The cage is full of nests, and we count roughly 15 to 20 birds.

The conjugal partners give the impression of being inoffensive and good-natured, but not particularly gifted; however, the man can both read and write. They are poorly dressed, looking on the whole rather miserable, which may, however, be partly intentional. The woman has long, dark, frizzled hair, but is very anxious to assure us that she was quite fair as a child. Like her mother she would hear no talk of their being gipsies, "we are German Jews, and that is the reason why we are so dark-hued." The married couple have 4 children.

*Of their eldest daughter* we are informed as follows: She is

a typical gipsy, work-shy, with an inclination to wander, which manifests itself every now and then. She has been receiving aid for long periods together both in her marriages and between them. Has been in a workhouse. First she married a gipsy, but the marriage was dissolved, because it could be proved that she was pregnant by another man, when she married. She was then 17 years old, and it was only because she was pregnant that she obtained permission to marry. The alleged father maintained that she had also had coitus with the twin-brother of her husband, which was, however, denied with great energy by the other part. After the divorce she cohabited with a man, whom she later married. He did not seem to like hard work, was originally a baker's turn-over, but soon he gave it up and began to live as a pedlar, a street photographer and the like. He has received and does still receive a great deal of aid.

*Their eldest daughter but one* is by the Child-Welfare Committee characterized as a nice and good girl.

*Their son* is said to have an ear for music.

Their youngest daughter, whom we find at home, is a quite ordinary-looking, fair-haired girl of 7, who does not by any means make herself conspicuous.

*Gen. D.14.* The family has received a great deal of aid. It travels about the country in a caravan waggon. The school wrote as follows about their eldest child, when she was 9 years of age: "She is of average intellect, diligent, and well-behaved, and she has attended to her schooling in a satisfactory way. She has been placed in 49 schools."

*Gen. D.15.* Her husband performs as an artiste and a musician. Moreover he is sometimes a circus manager, an agent at various circuses, a pedlar, and sometimes he travels about with swing-boats. Of late years he has besides started a home-industry with toys. Ever since 1922 the family has been receiving relief almost permanently, and it has tried practically all kinds of relief, poor relief included. "The high road is in the very blood of this family."

A visit is paid to their home, a flat on the ground floor in a small house with a little garden on the outskirts of Copenhagen.

The rooms are very primitively furnished, but they are light and sunny. With orderliness and tidiness it is so-so. In the garden we find her husband and his brother-in-law occupied with the making of dolls. The woman is a distinct gipsy type, but with rather coarse features. She gives the impression of being of normal intellect. 3 of the daughters are at home. Like their father they are fair and ordinary-looking; they are of but mediocre parts. All members of the family are gay and very content, and they do not in any way seem to be oppressed by the straitened circumstances in which they live.

The school has given us the following characterization of the children: good-natured, somewhat neglected, wanton, characterless, without natural self-command.

*Gen. D.16.* Has for many years been living chiefly at the public expense, has tried his powers as a musician, a circus traveller, a brush-maker, a messenger, a chauffeur, and a pedlar. He and his wife gather refuse ("klunse") from dust-bins, and besides they collect used bottles, which they clean and sell. He stammers, for which reason he has some difficulty in trading. In spite of their poverty they have a foster-child, a daughter of the man's sister, *gen. D.17.* a pretty, black-haired, little girl, well cared for and neatly dressed. We find this man at his sister's, *gen. D.15.*, where he is occupied with the making of dolls. He too is a typical gipsy to look at. He makes by no means a poor or miserable impression, is gay, and his manners are polite.

*Gen. D.19.* In boyhood he contributed to the support of the family by selling wooden spoons. During a stay in a small town he left his parents, and without permission he took along some wood wares, which he went about selling. On this excursion he perpetrated some few occasional thefts of purses. At the age of 15 he was placed in a state-institution for juvenile offenders, where he remained till his 18th year of age. Here he was ordinarily quick and willing, but extremely thievish and expert in playing the hypocrite and lying. He often ran away, always when at large seeking the company of grinders. He was unusually neglected in point of education and instruction, could neither do sums nor write, and hardly read. At school and in the workshop he made but little pro-

gress, chiefly on account of a lacking interest and energy. When he was 17 years of age the institution for juvenile offenders declared that he had no great chance of becoming a joiner, partly because he had no aptitude for joinery, and partly because his only inclination was for returning to the life of vagabondage together with his parents. The following year he was returned to his home, but already at the age of 19 he was remanded with a caution for stealing. His parents declared him to be lazy, self-willed, and unreliable. Since then he has been living as a grinder, a brush-maker, and a "Klunser." He has been punished many times for thefts, and has in the course of time received large amounts of relief from the public relief funds.

*Gen. D.24.* On account of a bad home he was removed and sent to an educational institution, where he was apprenticed to a gardener. The first report from this place was to the effect that he behaved well, but that his parts were small. "He is a vagabond by nature, who will sooner or later find himself among tramps." But a later report shows the opinion about him to have changed. This report says that no doubt he would be able to quiet down under a proper treatment. The school has never had any reason to call his honesty in question. Nevertheless at the age of 23 he broke into a draper's shop; he repented, however, and threw the stolen goods into the water, but was all the same sentenced to 1 year's imprisonment.

*Conclusion.* This family shows no particularly prominent qualities. Most of its members are living in rather poor circumstances, and many of them are of but mediocre parts. They have received a lot of public aid, and not quite few of them have been in conflict with law. With this in view it is very interesting to see that the members who have married honest, resident individuals have succeeded in breeding more stable descendants, a number of whom are living in comparatively good circumstances, never having received any kind of public relief, and still less been in conflict with law.



## FAMILY No. V

*Gen. C.1.* The man was a musician and a grinder. He is said to have had a particular ear for music and to have played excellently on many instruments. According to Miskow he was weakly, no doubt tuberculous, and indeed he seems to have died young. The family managed without public aid. His wife married again at the age of 70 with a 40 year old non-gipsy previously convicted. They live in a caravan waggon, and earn a livelihood by selling various articles made of wire. She is said to be very youthful, and her physiognomy is said to be very outlandish.

*Gen. D.1.* In his early days the man travelled about in Norway, Sweden, Germany, and Denmark, never having a permanent residence. Was punished several times partly for offence against the act of compulsory military service, partly for robbery. He was very much given to drink, and could neither read nor write. Once under the influence of drink his wife denounced him for indecent behaviour towards their youngest daughter but one; however, when she became sober, she repented it, and the whole affair came to nothing. Their neighbours knew them to be quarrelsome. They never had a permanent residence for any length of time, except that generally in winter they settled down somewhere or other in Copenhagen with their waggon, living by trading, playing in the court-yards, and a great deal of public aid. In summer they performed as artistes in a small music-hall. The man was also a wild-beasttamer, and a few years ago he was killed by his own bears, when one day he entered their cage.

*His wife* was born of Swedish gipsy parents in a tent somewhere between Skanderborg and Silkeborg. When young she was famous for her beauty, and about the beginning of this century she performed as "the beautiful M . . . ." in a place of entertainment in

Copenhagen. She is said to be much given to drink like her husband, and she too can neither read nor write. Now she spends the winters in a caravan waggon together with her youngest daughter. She lives by selling various goods, and is moreover rather famous for her faculty of fortune-telling. In summer they travel about the country living in tents.

*A visit to the caravan waggon.* 2 daughters are found at home. The home looks very poor. The room is furnished with a divan, a table, and some damaged chairs. The wall-paper is partially torn. On the wall there are some faded photos of various artistes. Presently their mother enters with a large basket on her arm. She has been out doing business, although she is reported ill and is only allowed to go out in the middle of the day. She is dressed in motley clothes, wearing a green skirt with a many-coloured shawl round her shoulders. She is bear-headed in spite of the cold and in her still coal black hair she has silver hair-slides, and in her ears long silver eardrops. Her eyes are dark, her look sharp and piercing. On the whole she makes a very outlandish impression. There are traces yet of former beauty, although her features have become coarse, her voice deep and gruff. It is seen at once that her children feel a great respect for her, but at the same time also affection and admiration. At first she pays no attention whatever to the stranger; but as apparently she takes it for granted that I have come to have my fortune told, this time of waiting is probably to be compared with a time of observation. I have my fortune told in cards, and merely as a matter of curiosity I shall remark that surprisingly many of the things she says are correct. Thus I gradually come on speaking terms with her. She decidedly gives the impression of being a character, very intelligent, and, like all gifted gipsies, in possession of a considerable knowledge of human nature. But in all likelihood she is not agreeable if she gets angry, and hardly particularly reliable either: does not seem to hesitate about telling a lie, if she finds it to her advantage.

We discuss the accident 4 or 5 years ago, when her husband was killed. Apparently she feels the absence of her husband, but has submitted to her fate on this point as on so many others in life. She maintains that she had a presentiment that the accident would happen, because the animals did not like her husband; they

GENERATION A  
Ab. 1800-1870

GENERATION B  
Ab. 1825-1910

GENERATION C  
Ab. 1865-

- Grinder from North Germany. M. w. a member of family II.
- Grinder at Tønning receiving poor relief.
- M. w. family IV, 1. B.2.
- Grinder. M. w. 2. family IV, B.5.

Numerous children living in the Tønning poor-house. Possibly one of the daughters is the first ancestress of a family which for 3 generations has been a burden to the municipality of Copenhagen. It leads, however, a quite normal life. It counts some feeble-minded members.

- Musician, grinder, 1. m. w. family III, C.3.

- M. w. grinder, musician, fair-traveller. Later old age pensioner.

TABLE VII  
FAMILY No. V

GENERATION D  
Ab. 1885-

GENERATION E  
Ab. 1910-

GENERATION F  
Ab. 1925-

- Artiste, pedlar. Illiterate. — 4 children.
1. □ Musician, beggar, pedlar. — 2 children.
2. Illiterate, backward, psychopathic.
- M. w. family I, D.34.
3. M. w. labourer. — 2 children.
4. Vagabondized as a child.
5. Backward. M. w. a labourer.
- Attending a special school — 2 children, one is feeble-minded and bodily defective.
6. for backward children. (On 1-6 see parents).
- M. 3 times with pedlars, one of them convicted. — 6 children.
3. unknown.
4. M. 3 times with pedlars, more or less given to drink and psychopathic. 1 child by fam. 2, E.1. See text.
5. M. w. a) family III, D.1. — 5 children.
6. a) an often unemployed navy.
- Pedlar, fair-traveller. M. w. — 6 children. See parents.
7. fam. IV, D.27. See text.
- Pedlar — 3 children.
8. Pedlar, grinder, fair-traveller, m. w. family IV, D.29. — 2 children.
9. M. w. a) family IV, D.28. — 1 child.
10. b) a navy. "Loose and hot-tempered."
- Pedlar, labourer. In his younger days a fair-traveller. — 2 children.

always became unquiet when he entered their cage, if she was not near at hand. She is of opinion that her husband entered the cage in order to commit suicide, he being at that time oppressed by a large debt, of which his wife knew nothing then.—She cannot be made to speak of other members of her family.

*Her children.*

*Gen. E.I.* The eldest son has been in touch with the public authorities several times. The first time was when at the age of 14 he and a friend of his stole a boat in which they left home. He was landed in a poor-farm after having rendered himself guilty of both stealing and begging. His parents requested the Child-Welfare Committee to interfere. He was then placed in an educational institution, from where, however, he ran away 2 days later to go on the tramp again. He was caught by the police and sent back to his parents. At the age of 17 he was again placed in an educational institution, but the day after his arrival the headmaster gave him up as unfit for staying there. He was examined by a physician, who, however, in spite of the fact that the boy could neither read nor write (he is still an illiterate) did not find it necessary to make a psychiatric examination.

Then he began to live as an artiste (contortionist) and a pedlar, and besides by public aid both in Copenhagen and in various country towns. Now and then he has earned a little money by singing and playing in the court-yards, for which he has repeatedly been denounced to the police.

At the age of 18 he was admitted to hospital by the police for lues and gonorrhoea. He has had connection with numerous girls. At a certain time he lived with one of them in a miserable flat in the centre of Copenhagen. The furniture consisted of some bed-clothes lying on the floor in a corner of the room, and instead of a table a used orange-box. He has 4 children by 4 different girls. Has now just married the fifth, who is an artiste, but no gipsy.

The first girl, with whom we have talked, denies being of gipsy descent, but nevertheless she looks perfectly like a gipsy. Her father was a circus clown, her brother is a wild-beast tamer; she herself goes about selling brushes in winter.

Their child (gen. F.) is a very handsome, dark-eyed boy, 12 years of age. As to conduct his school gives him a very high character. With regard to proficiency he belongs to the lower third of his class-mates, which, however, in the opinion of the school is to some extent due to the fact that he has changed schools so often.

During a visit to our house he is very quiet, polite, and quick, with manners worthy of a better milieu. He is very fond of travelling about. His best spare-time occupation is to go fishing, which he does together with his father in the early morning hours. He makes a reliable impression.

*Gen. E.2.* This son was born in an inn, and was brought up by his parents until his 8th year of age, when he came under the care of the Child-Welfare Committee. He was sent to various reformatories, but in between he vagabondized. At the age of 17 he was sent to an asylum, where he was characterized as imbecile with a pronounced inclination for vagabondage. Sterilization was proposed, but he went away from the hospital, before the operation could take place. He is completely illiterate.

The following 10 years he earned a livelihood by various performances, and by singing and playing in the court-yards, being time after time committed to prison for having gone begging. At length the conclusion was arrived at that the proper place for him to live in was actually a workhouse or an asylum. The chief physician of the public care for mental defectives declared that the man ought to be placed in an asylum, having proved quite unable to manage for himself.

*Gen. E.4.* This daughter, whom we meet on our visit to her mother's caravan waggon, is rather pretty with black hair, a dark hue, and dark eyes. She lacks nothing in oratorical gifts, but seems only to be of mediocre parts, yet she is able both to read and write. Her interests seem to be almost those of ordinary citizens, makes a rather solid and respectable impression. Her dress is not the least singular, and she is perfectly content to live as a "private individual."

She is alternately married with and partially divorced from a workman, who is not a gipsy (altogether 3 or 4 times). He has been moving much about, and has received public aid in various districts.

Once the office for social relief had a little trouble with her, because she applied for help for the purchase of a coat, though she was in possession of a fur-coat.

The married couple has 2 children aged 3 and 6 respectively. These children do not differ in appearance from ordinary Danish working-class children. A few times during my visit they come to blows and have to be appeased, which is done by paying them money; even the little 3 year old child brightens up at sight of a 5 Øre piece.

*Gen. E.5.* This daughter ran from home at the age of 11 and vagabondized about 24 hours. The following years she spent partly at home and partly in Catholic homes in various country towns. At the age of 15 she was seduced by a young man, on account of which she was placed in a home instituted by the Society of "Danish Women's Welfare." Here her mental condition was examined, and the statement given says as follows: Difficult to manage, immoral. While staying in the home she was thievish, planned a housebreaking, made a picklock. Otherwise sociable, liked by her companions. Unsettled, restless, and indolent. She is no good at cleaning up. On the examination: Inattentive, indolent, shrinks from exertions, gets tired very soon. Her school-learning leaves much to be desired; indeed she is able to read, do sums, and write, but she does it with great clumsiness, and her orthography is very bad. Her power of apprehending that which is explained to her is quite good, whereas the same cannot be said about her powers of observation and of inculcation. She has rather a faculty for thinking for herself, when first her interest is stirred. Her intelligence quotient, according to Breining III, is 88. From the information in hand she must be regarded as a not particularly intelligent girl, belonging rather among the best of the group of backward children. Although she is so young in years, she gives the impression of being fully developed. She is somewhat psychopathically degenerated, with a moral defect.

Shortly after this examination she made off for Sweden, where she is supposed to have stayed with her mother's relations. The escapade lasted about 6 months. 2 years later she went on the tramp again. Accordingly she had to be placed in a home for women, from which she ran away, however, in company with a marine fire-

man. With this man she was married soon after. She got 2 children by him, the younger of whom is imbecile. The family cheats the office for social relief to the best of its ability.

*Gen. E.6.* The youngest daughter has been partly at home and partly in a Catholic home, from where we have the following report of her: Sound and healthy, quick-witted, and lively, quite indifferent both to punishment and rebuke, and to praise. Very superficial. Suffered from nocturnal enuresis. Her school reports as follows: Lacks power of concentration. Causes a great deal of disturbance during the lessons, and her manners are bad. She is lively, and has very expressive gestures. Her school-friends do not tease her, rather they take her side, however, no doubt chiefly because they are fascinated by her beauty and outlandishness. But her friendship is probably not to be relied on, has a "gipsy nature." She always allies with the most unruly and unreliable among her school-fellows. But she is said to have a tender affection for her mother. She is disposed to stammer, her pronunciation is not good, her vocabulary small, often she must feel long for certain expressions. Her intelligence quotient is 85, but it must be accepted with some reservation on account of her difficulties of speech and her frequent changes of school.

This girl we also find at home on our visit to the caravan waggon. She is 16 years of age and very pretty, a typical gipsy girl with a twinkle in her eye, a dark hue, and coal black hair. She is constantly astir and bustling about, very noisy, and stammering rather much. She is very charming, but somewhat unrestrained, and lacking the manners displayed by so many other gipsies of her own age. Her intelligence seems to correspond very well to the found quotient of 85. No doubt she is rather unreliable. Cheerfully and with great interest she tells us about her life: In summer she and her mother go touring, living in a tent or a waggon. She dances gipsy dances together with her mother to the music of a band of 3 persons. She does not like to go to school, but she loves the travelling life, wanting no other existence.

*Gen. D.5.* This woman, who is said to be somewhat untidy and extravagant, has been married 3 times. Her first husband was born

out of wedlock. His mother was Swedish. By him she has one child. Next she was married with a brush-maker given to drink, who compelled her to procure him some money for the purchase of spirits by forcing her "out with the trading-basket." By this man she has 2 children. The elder child is placed in a state-institution for difficult boys, from where we have the following information: His character is yielding, weak, and dishonest. He seeks bad companions, plays truant, and pilfers. Is of average intellect, but diligence and interest less satisfactory. He is rude to his school-fellows and impudent towards his teachers.

Her third husband was a notorious drunkard, but by no means unintelligent. By this marriage she has 2 children.

*Gen. D.7.* Since his 18th year of age he has had no permanent residence. Has been living by making brushes and selling fancy articles in winter, and by travelling about with swing-boats in summer. Besides he has occasionally had some workman's work.

In between he has been convicted now and then for disorderly behaviour in a public-house, for having gone about selling various goods, and for having driven a motor-car that was in a very bad state. His wife is likewise of gipsy descent.

One of their *children*, a 9 year old boy, attends a school for children with defects of speech on account of a not particularly pronounced defect of articulation. This boy had from the normal school the following character: Sits mostly under the table. In the school for children with defects of speech he causes a great deal of disturbance during the lessons. He has been caught in petty thefts, f. i. of milk. He is sometimes rather harsh to his school-fellows and his siblings, although he is very fond of his younger siblings. His form-mistress has no disciplinary difficulties with him; he loves her and is ready to do anything for her, but in return he desires the same unqualified love from her. He is inclined to be jealous. Is extremely emotional, fluctuating between love and hate. The slightest injury will make him reticent and dogged, his eyes will flash fire, "at such moments you may credit him with anything." He is somewhat dull of apprehension. On a visit to us he is somewhat overwhelmed by the situation. Though dark he does not look like a gipsy. A determination of intelligence shows his I.Q. to be 90. He



makes a rather unimaginative impression, is rather childish and confident.

*Conclusion.* The most characteristic feature of this family is that it numbers a great many members of weak intellect, both feeble-minded and backward individuals. Many of them are also morally defective, though not in any great degree criminal. The family does not on a single point make itself conspicuous by more eminent qualities. It is said, however, of one person that he had an ear for music.

They subsist chiefly by peddling and begging, and generally seem to be rather lazy.

Speaking of them to other gipsy families we get the impression that this tribe is not particularly esteemed.

## FAMILY No. VI

The first ancestor was a grinder, who wandered about a. o. rather often in Sweden. A son's daughter of his tells us that he was born in Germany, presumably in Prussia, where he was adopted by a very influential person. As, however, he could not submit to a life in ordered circumstances, he fled from home and began to wander about as a grinder.

*Gen. B.1.* His eldest son was likewise a wandering grinder. He possessed a house on the edge of a forest and managed for himself without public aid until at the age of 72 he began to receive old age pension. When small he and his younger brother loved each other so dearly that they could not do without each other. Thus it is told that when once this brother was left behind in an inn with a sprained ankle, while the family travelled on, he stole back to the inn in the dead of night, tied two leather-straps round his brother, who was rather small in stature, and carried him on his back several miles, until he caught up his parents at dawn. He was in many ways a little rebel, and often he hid under the waggon at night for fear of a beating. But if his younger brother was to receive a beating, he quickly pushed him aside offering to take the beating instead.

Of his wife we know nothing except that she belonged to family No. VII, which is regarded as one of the superior tribes within the race of gipsies. They have 11 children, who have all of them at one time or other received public aid.

*Gen. B.2.* This man was born in an inn in North Sweden. He too was a grinder. In his old age he received old age pension in Denmark: but he continued to wander about with his grinding cart,

GEN. A	GEN. B	GENERATION C	GENERATION D	GEN. E
Ab. 1810	Ab. 1845	Ab. 1875-	Ab. 1900-	Ab. 1930-
-1870	-1920			

<input type="checkbox"/> Grinder. 1. M. w. fam. VII, C.5. See text.  <input type="checkbox"/> Grinder. 2. later resident. M. first with a gipsy. Next with a private ind. See text. M. w. fam I, B.4. <input type="checkbox"/> Psycho-path. M. w. a small-holder.	<input type="checkbox"/> Grinder, habitual drunkard. 1. Grinder. Died unmarried. 2. Widow of a grinder. 3. "Travels."  <input type="checkbox"/> M. w. a harbour officer. See text. 4.  <input type="checkbox"/> M. w. a circus manager. Pedicure. Prostitute. See text. 5. Divorced grinder. 6. <input type="checkbox"/> Grinder, m. w. family V, D.2. 7. Grinder, fair-traveler. See text. 8. Prostitute, habitual drunkard. See text. 9. Grinder, fair-traveler. See text. 10. † in babyhood. 11. <input type="checkbox"/> M. w. family VII, D.10. 12. <input type="checkbox"/> M. w. restaurant-keeper. 13. Master chimney sweeper. 14. M. w. mechanic. 15. <input type="checkbox"/> Widow of an architect. See text. 16. Painter. 17. M. w. loome-tender 18.	<input type="checkbox"/> Fate unkn. <input type="checkbox"/> Fate unkn. <input type="checkbox"/> † in babyhood. <input type="checkbox"/> Deaf and dumb. <input type="checkbox"/> Unknown. <input type="checkbox"/> "Travels." <input type="checkbox"/> "Travels." <input type="checkbox"/> Musician. <input type="checkbox"/> Artiste. <input type="checkbox"/> Procurer. <input type="checkbox"/> Prostitute. <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced by a labourer. Beautiful, but unreliable. <input type="checkbox"/> Some unkn. children. <input type="checkbox"/> Butcher, marine fireman, pedlar, navyy. <input type="checkbox"/> Some unkn. children. 4 children. 11 children, clever, gifted. 2 <input type="checkbox"/> pedlars, 2 <input type="checkbox"/> and 4 <input type="checkbox"/> under age. Some children, all having ordinary fixed occupations.	-2 <input type="checkbox"/> "difficult," <input type="checkbox"/> normal. See text.

TABLE VIII  
FAMILY No. VI

being to his last a healthy old man. His first wife was a gipsy, by whom he had 2 children. Next he married a "private woman," who bore him 4 children.

A daughter of his second marriage and her 2 grown-up children tell us the following about him: He was small in stature with coal black hair, dark brown eyes, and his hue was quite dark brown. He was handsome with regular features, as also appears from a photograph hanging on the wall. He had never attended school, but at the grown-up age he bought a reader and taught himself how to read and write. He had an ear for music and played the harmonica with eminent skill. He spoke both Danish, German, and Low German; but with his wife he spoke Rommany, although she was no gipsy. He would not, however, teach his children this language, because actually he was a little ashamed of his descent. He wanted his children to live a more ordered life. For this reason the family did not live in a caravan waggon, but had a permanent residence, from where they set out for a week or a fortnight at a time, passing the nights in the inns. He saw to it that the children attended school comparatively regularly. The children had a great respect and affection for their father, and his hope of making them more social than their forefathers seems to have been fulfilled. All the children have married non-gipsies. The sons have learned a trade and manage without public aid. Also the husbands of the daughters have served their apprenticeship to some trade or other.

*Gen. C.4.* This woman was for a number of years brought up by *gen. B.2.*, because she was not liked by her siblings, whose behaviour she disapproved of on many points. She herself wanted to lead a more respectable life. She is the mother of numerous children, many of whom have been in conflict with law. One son is known as a procurer, another has rendered himself guilty of various thefts from a well-to-do relation, with whom he stayed, while she was on a journey. One daughter "goes on the loose." The youngest daughter was first married with a quiet, nice-mannered artisan, who describes her to us as being a beauty, very dark, but quite unstable. She would suddenly, apparently without provocation rush away on her bicycle, leaving the house uncared for, not out of laziness or refractoriness, but simply because she had no

sense of duty whatever. She was very fond of her children, but nevertheless she neglected them to an incredible degree. A psychiatrist, who had spoken with her, recorded as follows: "She makes an intelligent impression, but is also somewhat flippant. She gives the impression of being absolutely indifferent about her children's education, preferring to let them do as they like the few hours she spends together with them." By and by she divorced the artisan and married a sailor.

*Gen. C.5.* While married she travelled about with her husband, who was an artiste and a musician. Later they were partially divorced. She has been in hospital for: Aortitis luica? (Lues antea). Tumor ovarii? Adipositas. Laparotomia seq. (Tumor ovarii). Amputatio mammae sin. (Adenocarcinoma). Now she has a clinic for pedicure. People in the neighbourhood call her "acrobat-strumpet." By several more distant relations she is described as a pleasant and excellent woman, waiving a not very respectable profession, about which she does not make the least disguise. As, however, she is extremely vulnerable, it is necessary to be cautious in one's behaviour towards her. Her friendships are ardent, her hate indiscriminate. We try to make her a visit. The nameplate has the inscription of "Manicure and Pedicure." On our ringing the bell she herself opens the door half-way, and at a glance we see skepticism and distrust depicted in her countenance. By a turn of her head she gives us to understand that she has a visitor, "so I can't have you just now." At first she disclaims kindred with another travelling family, but on our mentioning the names she agrees the fact. We get no opportunity of seeing her display the good qualities mentioned by her relatives; she only makes a rude, vulgar, and unreliable impression. She is a typical gipsy to look at with coal black hair, a yellowish brown hue, and wearing lots of amber ornaments. But her features are coarse, her voice gruff, and all in all her physiognomy seems to correspond quite well to the name given her by her neighbours.

*Gen. C.7.* The married couple has 4 children. Several times they have been receiving public aid for long periods together. Once all aid was stopped, because they gave wrong information as to their

economic circumstances. Another time the authorities learned that the children of compulsory school age did not attend school, and had not done so for the past year. At a certain time the Child-Welfare Committee was informed that the youngest children were sent out peddling by their parents. The parents were, however, remanded with a caution.

*Gen. C.8.* This family is living in a caravan waggon. A colleague of ours has paid a visit to the waggon and has given us the following information: The waggon is brand-new. Inside it is very tidy. The man is not in. His wife makes an unusually intelligent impression, and informs me that she and her relations had nothing to do with the "travellers" before she was married.

All the children seem to have a quite natural mentality, but in comparison with other children from a similar economic milieu they are astonishingly intelligent, free and easy, and with a surprisingly good physique. Their carriage is perfect, their teeth sound. A grown-up daughter is one of the most beautiful girls I have ever seen, corresponding exactly to the most romantic conception of the gipsies. The children bear hardly any stamp of their fair mother. With a certain pride she points out that none of her children were ever in conflict with law.

*Gen. C.9.* From a child brought up to become an artiste, (a trapezist and a rope-walker). She only attended school a few months at a time. Is able to read, but can write nothing but her name. At the age of 17 she ran away with a man, caught the infection of lues, and has never since performed as an artiste. Of late years she has been drinking rather a great quantity of spirits, for which reason she has been in hospital. Here she made a slightly demented impression, her behaviour was vulgar and she was very erethitic, but at times also quite pleasant.

*Gen. C.10.* A civil servant, who has gained the confidence of the family, states as follows: The man is a very dark gipsy type, a handsome man, and a gentleman when sober. He is intelligent and an interesting man to talk with, always ready to recount. He understands very well about animals, particularly he is a connois-

seur of dogs. When he is drunk, which happens fairly often, he is a great fighter and perpetrator of acts of violence, who is able to clear a penny gaff within a very short time.

In summer the family is always travelling. It moves from place to place in its caravan waggon, living by selling articles of wire and wooden spoons of their own making. Their breaking up from the villages often takes place rather abruptly. If we say to the man, "When will you leave?," his answer will be as follows, "Don't know." "Will it be in a month or a week?" "Don't know." "Where will you go?"—The same answer. "Towards the North or the South?"—The same answer. And an hour later the waggon may have disappeared. He suddenly takes it into his head that he must be off, but he cannot explain why.

On ordinary days he has no connection with his relatives about the country. But if anything happens such as illness or something ill-boding, the members of the family will meet at once, even if they have been several miles removed from each other. The man once brought on himself a concussion of the brain during a fight in a public house. Soon after our informant met the man's brother wandering on the Jutlandish heath, and on saying to him, "I have just met your brother," he received the surprising answer, "Well, I am just on my way to him, I know he is lying ill somewhere in the North." The members of the family hold closely together and are always ready to spare to each other. They are full of glittering promises, which they never keep, though no doubt at the moment they mean to do it.

The children are tall, strongly built, and good-looking, as typical gipsies as can be, even more so than their father.

*Gen. C.15.* A visit to her home. The rooms are very small, but the furniture suggests that the family was once better off. Thus there are both armchairs and a piano, things that we have never seen in the other homes. We are met with a kind reception by this woman and her 2 grown-up children, and it is plain to see from their behaviour that they have dissociated themselves from their wandering relatives. She has been married with an architect, with whom she lived in America for many years. After her return to Denmark it has gone downhill. She has had some work in a factory

and has received a great deal of public aid. Both her children have served their apprenticeship and have been able to manage for themselves, although they suffer from diabetes mellitus. For the time being they are, however, unemployed.

Her descent does not belie itself, both her appearance and her manners being typically gipsylike, only her manners do not show the slightest indications of the slyness and fear of betraying personal facts generally met with in gipsies. Her children are pretty and cultured, sober-minded and reliable, thus immediately correcting their mother, if she does not hold strictly to the actual facts. They make a very good example of the fact that complete assimilation may take place, and into the bargain they seem to have preserved some of the most valuable qualities of their wandering ancestors. Thus they are void of all narrow-mindedness, and they have by no means become reduced morally by the poor circumstances in which they are now living.

*Gen. E.* The eldest boy, who has been brought up by his father in comfortable surroundings, began to vagabondize at the age of 8, and at the age of 9 to pilfer in a shop, where he served as an errand-boy; but nevertheless the owners of the shop wanted to keep him, as they could not help liking him on account of his charming manners. He was once admitted to a psychiatric department under a diagnosis of hypervigilias. During his stay there he was cheerful and charming, but sometimes very restless. Intelligence quotient a. m. Binet-Simon: 97. By appearance a tall, strongly built boy with black hair and brown eyes.

The observation form, on which he was placed, because it was impossible to have him on an ordinary form, has given us the following, for a gipsy child very apt characterization, which accords exactly with the impression we get during a visit to the home: "At school "he is damned, if he can take the bother," he is a terrible little pig both with himself and his things. His main interests are W.C. and sex. He behaves just as he likes, reacting with abusive words and obstinacy against submitting to any form of orders or summons. But he is the only boy I have ever had to do with who shared liberally and without attitudinizing with other children. He is unruly and impetuous, but nevertheless liked by his comrades.



He never takes part in conspiracies, with him it is either open enmity or nothing at all."

His lacking respect for authorities manifested itself a. o. in the following droll incident: One day his teacher gave him a letter to take home to his parents with remarks on his bad conduct. The boy preferred, however, to manage the affair himself, and wrote at the bottom of the letter in his clumsy child's handwriting as follows: "You are quite right, I also find K . . . . a disgusting boy."

*A younger brother.* He too was once placed in a psychiatric department for observation, and was there characterized as a difficult child. Was nice and kind to the sick nurse, charming as long as he had everything his own way, but as soon as anything went wrong with him, he would scream and kick. He took the other children's toys, perfectly regardless of *meum* and *tuum*.

On a personal application to the kindergarten we are informed as follows: The boy is one of the worst and at the same time one of the lovelies children they have ever had. Is very intelligent. Desperately hot-tempered, but left alone on an enclosed plot of sand there is no limit to his radiant and spontaneous joy. It is a pleasure to observe him at such moments.

*Their sister*, who has been brought up together with her eldest brother, seems to take after her father. She is quite fair and presents no difficulties whatever.

*Conclusion.* One of the most characteristic features of this family is that it numbers so many very handsome members with a typical gipsy exterior. Also it is in the main a sound family, and most of its members seem to have been, if not extraordinarily gifted, yet of average parts. Hardly any of them have managed to attain a position above that of a grinder or a pedlar; thus there is not among them one single prominent musician or artiste.

Excesses in Baccho et Venere are not uncommon, but only in a very few cases they have brought them into serious conflicts with law.

It is a remarkable fact that within a single branch of the family practically all members have taken up ordinary fixed occupations, and have married into respectable families. With a single exception these families have so far been able to manage without any form of public aid.

## FAMILY No. VII

This family is a family of wanderers exceedingly well-known in Holstein, whose members have been living mostly as musicians and the like. It is possible to set up a pedigree of 6 generations with more than 200 members, all vagrants. The family has its centre in the Ditmarshes.

*Gen. B.1.* Both conjugal partners were musicians and artistes.

*Gen. B.2.* This man was a musician and an artiste. His wife had a very chequered past. She was a daughter of a rag-and-bone dealer, living from 1821 in Quickborn, who, however, added to his income in a not very respectable manner. In 1852 he was punished for receiving. His daughter was punished partly for stealing, partly for receiving. She vagabondized together with various persons, especially with a gipsy of ill repute, convicted several times.

*Gen. C.2.* In childhood this man attended several schools, but was nevertheless unable to write. After his confirmation he was for some time a farm-servant. Later he was a workman and a pedlar, who when travelling with his parents sold the usual home-industry articles of his own making. By and by he started a carrier's business, and finally innkeeping. A few years after the contracting of the marriage his wife was punished with 8 months of penal servitude for some very grave pocket-pickings.

The inn owned by the married couple seems to have been a brothel exceedingly well-known in the tract and very well patronized. The customers were chiefly farmers and cattle dealers from the neighbourhood, but the place was also frequented by the citizens of the town and by a number of high-born people. The innkeeper

kept 3 or 4 girls besides one of his daughters. The girls had nearly all of them been convicted, before they were appointed. The course of business was this that the customer bought of the family a bottle of something or other at 2 Kr.—the family's share of the profits—after which he went upstairs with the girl. The trick of the whole affair was then that the wine was not drunk during the séances, so that the innkeeper's wife sold it again. An action was brought against the married couple. The man denied persistently to have had any suspicion whatever as to what was going on, pleading a very advanced deafness, by the way certified to by a doctor. Also his wife denied the charge, although the business had been going on for many years.

The married couple have 7 children. One daughter has been living the life of a prostitute, as mentioned above, and a son has been punished for a light degree of violence; but none of the other 5 children have ever made themselves conspicuous to their disadvantage. The sons have served their apprenticeship to some trade or other, and the daughters are married with men having ordinary fixed occupations.

*Gen. C.3.* This man emigrated to Sweden, where he started a rather considerable circus enterprise. His circus was well-known, and the family tells us with pride that his death was announced on the wireless. He was married twice, first with a gipsy, and later with a "private woman." One of his sons carries on a circus enterprise on a smaller scale in Sweden.

*Gen. C.7.* The man was a musician and a circus manager. He was a tall, strongly built, dark man to look at. His wife, who was not a gipsy, but of noble descent, was a daughter of a circus manager, and herself an artiste. A peculiarity about her is that in all likelihood she suffered from Thomsen's disease. She belonged to the same family as Thomsen, and we have found this disease in several of her descendants. The diagnosis has been verified by Dr. Eivind Thomassen, whose description of the disease will be rendered in another place. Those of the children who suffer from the disease maintain that their mother had the same symptoms, although she was an artiste.

GENERATION A  
Ab. 1790-1860

GENERATION B  
Ab. 1815-1910

GENERATION C  
Ab. 1845-

☐ Musician in the Dit-marshes.

☐ Pedlar and musician. M. w.  
1. family IV, B.6. See text.

☐ Musician, artiste, m. w. va-  
2. gabond. See text.

☐ Second-hand dealer.  
1. Resident.

☐ Carrier, hotel-proprietor.  
2. Together with his wife pu-  
nished for procuring. See  
text.

☐ Travelled with family  
3. VIII, C.2 particularly in  
Sweden.

☐ Circus manager in Sweden.  
4. M. w. 1) family VIII,  
C.2a. 2) a "private ind."  
See text.

☐ M. w. family VI, B.1.  
5.

☐ M. w. family I, C.2.  
6.

☐ Circus manager, m. w. an  
7. artiste suffering from  
Thomsen's disease. See  
text.

☐ M. w. an inn-keeper.  
8.

☐ M. w. a chemist's assistant.  
9. See text.

☐ Musician, pedlar. Now old  
10. age pensioner. See text.

GENERATION D  
Ab. 1870-

GENERATION E  
Ab. 1895-

GENERATION F  
Ab. 1925-

☐ Workman, resident.

1. ☐ M. 3 times with resident men.

2. ☐ M. twice with resident men.

3. ☐ Master joiner.

4. ☐ M. w. a non-commisioned of-  
ficer.

5. ☐ Butcher, m. twice.

6. ☐ Workman, has been in Ame-  
rica.

7. Some children, all in Sweden.

☐ Musician, fair traveller. M. w.  
8. member of old international  
circus family. See text.

9. ☐ Pedlar. M. w. family VI,  
10. C.12. See text.

☐ First child by a workman, the  
11. 2 next by a circus manager,  
now m. w. a fair traveller.  
Thomsen's disease. See text.

☐ M. w. a fair traveller.

12. ☐ M. w. a butcher. Thomsen's  
13. disease. See text.

☐ Fair traveller. Thomsen's  
14. disease. See text.

6 ☐ 3 ☐ in fixed occupations.  
A few receiving aid. 2 children  
died small.

3 ☐ 3 ☐ all in fixed occupa-  
tions. Manage for themselves.

☐ † in childhood.

10 children, resident. Some in  
America.

☐ in America.

☐ Managing agent.

2 ☐ 2 ☐.

3 ☐ m. w. artisans.

☐ † young.

Some children.

4 ☐ 3 ☐ the grown-up and  
the half-grown-up children are  
musicians. 4 died in childhood.

☐ Artiste.

☐ 2 ☐ peddles.

5 ☐ 5 ☐ 8 suffer from Thom-  
sen's disease. 1 is besides epi-  
leptic, 1 backward, 1 feeble-  
minded.

2 ☐ 1 ☐.

2 ☐ 5 ☐ in fixed occupa-  
tions. 4 have Thomsen's  
disease.

1 child.

Some children.

Some children.

TABLE IX  
FAMILY No. VII

After the death of the man his wife travelled about with a portable cinema. Obviously the family never received public aid.

*Gen. C.9.* She was a musician and an artiste, who came with a troupe of acrobats and jugglers to a country town, where a chemist's assistant fell in love with her. They got married, and she bore him 9 children. 2 of the sons have received a minor punishment for theft. One has been sentenced to lose his driving licence. All the children have fixed occupations.

*Gen. C.10.* The man was in his younger days a musician and an artiste. Formerly he lived in an old caravan waggon, but now he has a house of his own. He has 6 children, 5 of whom are living at home. None of them have made themselves conspicuous in any way.

*Gen. D.8.* Of this man it is stated that he has tried his hand at all branches of "travelling life," having been a musician, having had a portable cinema, an ice-cream stall, swing-boats, and finally having gone about selling artificial flowers. Goes about playing and singing in the court-yards together with 2 brothers-in-law. Has received winter relief, poor relief, relief fund relief, and bury relief. For some time he was living in a temporary house for homeless people. But the family must have managed to work its way, for now that we pay a visit to its home, it has a house of its own with a garden, and in the garden we even find a caravan waggon. In summer the man and his family travel about as musicians together with his wife's brothers, who own a circus. All the members of the family play on the horn. On our first visit to their home all is chaos, because the daughter is to be confirmed a week earlier than calculated. The furniture looks rather poor, but there is both a sitting-room and a dining-room. To get a chance of speaking with other members of the family the rare favour of being invited to coffee on the very day of confirmation is bestowed on us. This day dawns with bright sunshine, and relatives have come from far and near. In the sitting-room the young girls foot it to the music of a gramophone, whereas the men have disappeared to the nearest inn. Presently the mother of the candidate for confirmation

comes rushing back on her bicycle. She is wearing a black silk-dress and slippers, has a cigarette in her mouth, a man's hat on her head, and seems to be considerably cheered up by a few glasses of port and a bottle of beer taken at the inn, from where now most of the men are returning. They are all of them rather elevated. At table they arrange a minor fight just for fun, the only result of which is a broken chair. There are 2 large joints of beef in the oven, as 30 people or more are expected for dinner.

The man of the house does not at all look like a gipsy. He is fair, with blue eyes, square-built, and having an enormous strenght. He is rather rude and brutal, of mediocre parts, and hardly particularly reliable. Admits that in his youth he was somewhat given to drink. His wife is very quick-witted, cordial, and without the least touch of narrow-mindedness, but rather vulgar. She has born 11 children, 4 of whom have died. The remaining 7 are found at home. Apart from the youngest, a 4 year old urchin, they seem to be of mediocre parts. They have, however, with the exception of one daughter, an ear for music. The girls are strikingly muscular; their hair is thick, rather fair, frizzled, and hanging loose, their features are coarse, their movements clumsy and ungraceful, they are rather dirty and slovenly with their clothes.

Their school says about them as follows: "They are often missing school, are neglected and unreliable." But the little 4 year old boy is a wonderful child. He has taken advantage of the general confusion to climb on to the ridge of the roof. Nothing can put him out of countenance. Thus when a little later he falls out of the window, he says in a slightly offended tone, "But I told you I was going to fall." He is neither fierce nor violent, submits calmly to the examination, uttering small, funny, precocious remarks.

*Gen. D.g.* This woman is stated to have been travelling as an artiste with a circus in Sweden. But in between she has had periods of unemployment, during which she has been receiving social relief.

We are informed by her relatives that she is a trapezist and that she has been about in Europe a great deal. By her siblings she is regarded as being rather well-to-do, having owned a cottage for summer residence and many valuable jewels. Generally she performs in a "turn" together with her eldest daughter. She has been

married with a Bohemian, who did not belong to the wandering families.

We try to pay her a visit, but are not allowed further than to the front door, as she avails herself of the usual excuse for not letting in strangers, that she is in the midst of cleaning, because she is leaving in a very few days. On the landing we get a long talk, however, for it appears that she is greatly concerned, because several of her relatives suffer from an unusual disease, which she is very anxious to have investigated further. She has distinguished racial features, large dark eyes, and a yellowish hue. Does not at all look like her brother mentioned above. She speaks a cultured language, makes an intelligent and clever impression, absolutely bearing the stamp of being an artiste on an international scale.

*Gen. D.10.* This man is living in a caravan waggon. His wife is also a gipsy and is said to be a rather unpleasant person, at any rate she is not esteemed by her sisters-in-law, and generally it is rather grave, when "the travellers" betray faults in their own race to strangers. The family refuses flatly to see any person coming from the office for social relief, and every form of application is met with distrust. Apparently the parents feel strongly attached to their only son. When he was called to military service, they moved at once with their caravan waggon to the town in which he was garrisoned to be near him.

*Gen. D.11.* She has been married twice, first with a circus artiste, and next with an owner of swing-boats. She was herself an artiste in her young days, working as a trapezist. Later she was a chocolate worker. Seems to have been living in extreme poverty. Received no end of relief for many years. For some time she lived in a temporary house for homeless people. But on meeting her at the confirmation of her niece we get the impression that her conditions have improved with years, for now she is solidly and neatly dressed. She has the same racial features as her sister and the same dark colours. She is an intelligent and attractive woman, and so distinctly ladylike that we cannot very well imagine her standing at the swing-boats. She makes a very melancholy impression, is rather hard of hearing. Suffers from Thomsen's disease,

which does not, however, trouble her so much now, as when she was young.

She has 3 children by her first marriage. Child No. 2 suffers from epilepsy. By her second marriage she has 7 children. The eldest child but one of this flock is feeble-minded and under special care. The other children are said to be quick-witted and intelligent. 8 of the children suffer from Thomsen's disease, the eldest son is even said to be much invalided by it.

*Gen. D.13.* She was an artiste till her 22nd year of age, performing as a trapezist in the circus of her parents. Suffers from Thomsen's disease, which handicapped her a great deal; thus she had to train outside till the moment she was to enter the manege to avoid being perfectly stiff. When first she had started she had no difficulties. She never took any interest in the life of artistes and at a young age married a journeyman butcher from Holstein. Her husband is not very bright, but sly and at least previously very brutal, often beating both his wife and his children. They have always been living in extremely poor circumstances.

We find the family living in a miserable hovel on the skirts of the town, where the man occupies himself with some poultry-breeding. The furniture is extremely scanty; the house is cold and there is no electric lighting. His wife is poorly dressed, but her clothes and the surroundings are the only things that betray her social position. She speaks a language and has a carriage so perfect that we are at no loss to understand that her mother was of noble descent. By exterior she is exactly like the two sisters mentioned in the preceding, and intellectually she seems to equal them to the full. She too gives the impression of being rather melancholy and not like so many gipsies careless of to-morrow. It pains her that she is not able to give her children better conditions of life and greater possibilities of improvement.

There are 7 children between 6 and 18 years of age. We are introduced to the whole flock, as the eldest are just returning from their work, while we are speaking with their parents. They are a delightful flock, having nothing whatever in common with their cousins described in the preceding. They are cheerful, impulsive, attractive, unassuming, and joyful, on the whole they behave as if



they were used to live in quite different circumstances. A colleague of ours, who went with us to see the family, uttered the following apt remark on our leaving the home: "They live as counts in the rubbish." At school the children are among the most able. None of the children intend to lead a travelling life. One daughter has a situation in a shop and is staying with the holder, which is something quite extraordinary. They are not particularly strange to look at, although also their father is very dark and outlandish. Only a little girl, 11 years of age, is the most charming black-haired gipsy child imaginable, with sparkling eyes and a face that beams with joy of life, although her only footwear is a pair of heavy wooden boots.

4 of the children, a. o. the little girl mentioned above, suffer from Thomsen's disease, being rather troubled by it. Thus if they happen to strike the foot against some small impediment or other, they will often fall, and as they always fall like statues, they may hurt themselves rather badly. The eldest son attends a dancing school; to him it is very painful suddenly to get stiff at the very moment he is to begin the dance with his partner. When first he has started he is past all difficulties.

*Gen. D.14.* The man travels about with a "Tivoli" in summer, and lives all the year round in a caravan waggon. We meet him at the confirmation mentioned above, where unlike the other men he is not under the influence of drink. He resembles his sisters, is a nice and quiet man. He gives the impression of being honest and solid, but like his sisters somewhat melancholy. It is touching to see the care he displays towards his only child, a little girl about 12 months old.

*Conclusion.* In discussing this family with other gipsies we have often heard them mention it with a certain respect as a tribe rising somewhat above the others, and a tribe that they need not be ashamed of being acquainted with. The members of the family in their turn also regard themselves as being more distinguished than those of other gipsy families. With our knowledge of them we must say that roughly speaking it is just that they should take up this exceptional position. By profession they are nearly all of them

musicians and artistes, if they have not taken up fixed occupations instead. There are very few living simply as grinders and pedlars. Many of them have managed without receiving public aid, and only a very small number have been in conflict with law. A large number have married into ordinary respectable families, of which nothing disadvantageous can be said. Most of them are of normal intellect, some even very intelligent. They have not the same buoyant and unsteady disposition met with in other gipsies; they are serious, several of them even melancholy. An elderly woman belonging to the family has confirmed our impression by saying that even the largest and strongest men have a tender heart. Further she tells us about her mother that she was a very clever, conscientious, and extremely serious woman. They are not particularly handsome, but most of them have racial features. With regard to their dress they seem to aim at a more ordinary fashion. The youngest generation have for the greater part lost the characteristics of the family, and many of them are perfectly satisfied with doing regular work. Waiving the fact that about 20 members suffer from Thomsen's disease, the family is generally a healthy one. They are nearly all of them, both men and women, strikingly muscular.

## FAMILY No. VIII

*Gen. A.* This man married the eldest female member known to us of family IV. The man is said to have been a musician and a brush-maker. From Hohenwestedt the married couple set out with their children towards the north, giving on their way minor circus performances in the villages under primitive conditions. In 1858 the family came to North Jutland, but already the following year the man died while travelling about. By that time he owned a house. In 1872 the following appears from the communication of the Ministry: "The widowed Mrs. S. has since 1858 owned a house with about 4 acres of land adjoining. Since 1869 it has been let on lease to A. A. (a countryman living in the same parish), who disposes of the whole house except a single room, divided in two by a partition-wall, which the widow and sometimes others inhabit, when she is home from her travels. Has not been home, however, for the past 39 months. Mrs. S. is the leader of an equestrian company, which should probably more correctly be called a gipsy gang."

The married couple had 7 children, but it has been impossible to trace out the three eldest here in Denmark.

*Gen. B.1.* She was married in a Catholic church in this country to a German described as an equestrian performer and artiste. With a circus he travelled in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, North Germany, and Holland. Of his birth nothing is known, except that he was born in Denmark.

*Gen. B.2.* This man was an acrobat and a musician, a small stocky fellow, who was rather much given to drink, but apparently towards women in possession of an irresistible charm. He was first married with a woman of family II, by whom he had 2 children. He

left her, while their children were yet quite small. Next he cohabited for a number of years with a woman of family VII. By her he had 9 children, 3 of whom died in infancy. The mother of these children was a tall, stately, very beautiful gipsy. She is described by one of her daughters as very clever and intelligent and in possession of great authority. Nevertheless she endured with an incomprehensible patience the floggings of her husband, whom she loved for all that.

They travelled about with their own circus in Sweden, Finland, and Lapland. In Lapland they often had to travel by sledge. Their tent was set up in a biting cold, but people came in crowds, and by the time the performance was to begin, there were reindeers tethered to all the tent-pegs, and the audience sat wrapped in fur-coats. The family earned a lot of money then.

While the children were yet rather small, their mother died, and after her death the business was rapidly declining. Her husband got more and more addicted to drinking, he would flog his children terribly, although he loved them and could not do without them. As to his subsequent fate we know that he married a Swedish country girl, and afterwards he had numerous erotic connections. Thus according to information from other gipsy families he is said to be father of 52 children.

*Gen. B.4.* This woman married a man who came to this country from Brunswick as an acrobat and a musician. He was probably not a gipsy. They began with absolutely nothing. The children were trained up to be artistes. After some years the man had earned enough money to buy an inn, and later he bought some landed property. In the course of time he worked up a well-known circus, in which the children performed as skilful artistes. His wife bore him 19 children, 9 of whom lived to the grown-up age. Most of them became artistes of talent, one son even a world-famous artiste. Some of the children have themselves great circus enterprises, and a number of the grandchildren keep up the traditions.

*Gen. C.1.* This man travelled abroad in his youth as an equestrian performer at various circuses. He met his present wife in Germany. She was a rope-walker and a daughter of a puppet-player

GENERATION A  
Ab. 1790-1860

GENERATION B  
Ab. 1815-1885

GENERATION C  
Ab. 1835-1935

☐ Musician in the Dithmarsches. ☐ Musician, brush-maker, artist. M. w. family IV, B.1.

☐ Not detected in Denmark.

☐ M. w. equestrian performer  
1. and artiste. See text.

☐ Artiste, circus manager,  
2. partly here, partly in Sweden. M. 1) w. family II, B.3 by whom the first 2 children. 2) family VII, C.3 by whom the next 9. 3) Swedish country girl. Numerous loose amours. Altogether 52 children.  
☐ Not detected in Denmark.  
☐ M. in Sweden with family 2a. VII, C.4.  
☐ M. w. family IV, C.1.  
☐ M. w. a circus manager.  
4.

TABLE X  
FAMILY No. VIII

GENERATION D  
Ab. 1870-

GENERATION E  
Ab. 1900-

GENERATION F  
Ab. 1920-

☐ Artiste, pedlar, musician, m.  
1. w. a German gipsy woman. See text.

☐ Artiste, beggar.

☐ M. w. family IV, C.4.

☐ Pedlar, † young.

☐ † in infancy.

☐ Artiste in Sweden.

☐ M. w. a fair-traveller, a gipsy.

☐ Artiste, later m. w. a "private ind." See text.

☐ Circus manager in Sweden.

☐ M. w. a "traveller" in Sweden.

☐ Fisherman in Sweden.

☐ Numerous unknown children in Sweden.

19 children, 9 of whom reached the grown-up age. Circus people.

☐ M. w. a pedlar. — 8 children.

☐ Musician, pedlar. — Some children.

☐ Musician, pedlar. — 3 children.

☐ Musician, artiste. — 4 living, 3 dead children.

☐ Artiste, musician. In America.

☐ M. w. a musician, later with a workman. — 2 children.

☐ Musician, pedlar, artiste. — 3 children.

☐ Musician, pedlar, artiste. — 2 children.

☐ 1 child by family I, E.8. M. w. family IV, E.

☐ Musician.

☐ M. w. a workman.

☐ Musician.

☐ At home.

☐ Bookbinder, m. w. workman, pedlar.

☐ Sailor.

☐ Gilder.

☐ Fate unknown.

☐ † in babyhood.

☐ Factory-hand.

☐ Weakly.

☐ 1 child.

☐ 5 children.

☐ 17. family IV, D.18.

☐ A number of children, some of them circus people

☐ A number of childr.

in Switzerland. By the various families she is mentioned as an example of a typical gipsy.

Here in Denmark they have been knocking about in their caravan waggon living by peddling and by playing music. The man is said to be given to drink. We make an attempt at paying the family a visit in their caravan waggon. However, we are not allowed further than the open door, so we must content ourselves with having a chat outside the waggon. The waggon, which is closely packed with all kinds of lumber, is densely crowded with people, daughters and sons with wives and children. They are very picturesque to look at with their shining, bluish black hair and large dark brown eyes. Their music-instruments are still lying on the table, as they have just returned from their daily round to the court-yards. The man, who is 70 years of age, looks very down-and-out, but makes a rather inoffensive impression. His wife on the other hand is sprightly and passionate, gesticulating, speaking, laughing, and scolding in turn, and surely not to be trifled with, when angry. She looks exactly like the other elderly gipsy women we have seen, having no features by which she differs from the others, and which might suggest that she belonged to a purer tribe. She is rather small and slender, grey-haired and dark-eyed, her hue is dark brown, her features rather coarse. She treats us with exquisite kindness, but in a very businesslike manner. Evidently she does not want us to know anything about the more private affairs of the family, and after a fairly brief conversation she gives us to understand rather plainly that the audience is closed. The married couple have 12 children, all living in the manner of gipsies.

*Gen. C.2.* He travelled as an artiste, at first with his parents, and after their death with a circus of his own. His wife was, when they married, likewise attached to the circus of his parents. He continued his travelling life until he was about 35 years old. By that time he got partially divorced from his wife, after which he idled about in town without regular work, living chiefly by begging, for which he was sentenced to 18 days of penal servitude. Of the 2 last years of his life we know nothing for certain. He was found dead.

*Gen. C.3.* Her husband was in his prime of life a musician,

who travelled about the country together with 2 brothers. Later in life he earned a livelihood as a grinder. His wife made brushes and artificial flowers, which she sold, partly by the aid of her children. The family received poor relief several times in various parts of the country. The married couple got 19 children, 13 of whom are still alive. They travelled about in a caravan waggon, which was only about 5 yards long, and which nevertheless for a number of years housed 15 persons. After the death of her husband the woman moved to Copenhagen, where we find her living in a wooden barrack on the skirts of the town.—She is a small white-haired woman aged 70 with a keen eye and a caustic tongue. Her home is extremely poor and very untidy. She seems to be rather incensed against the community; but on our getting to speak of her relatives and our numerous common friends she thaws completely. She hates living in town feeling an indescribable longing for the life on the high road. Although it was a hard toil to bear and educate 19 children in a small caravan waggon, she remembers this period of her life as a glorious and magnificent time. She is missing her husband terribly, and she never gets tired of talking about him. But she is not quite content with her children, many of whom marry “private individuals,” thus “bringing a lot of trash into the family.” Now the men flog their wives, but in “the pure tribes” such behaviour was not tolerated. Though she speaks of the purity of the tribe, she denies it most positively that the family should be a gipsy family, and she says that she flies into a rage every time she hears this name used about it. Nevertheless she admits that her parents-in-law spoke the gipsy language, but she explains that it was due to the fact that they associated with so many gipsies, who were later expelled from the country. She herself has also in part been able to speak this language, but now she has forgotten most of it. This woman is decidedly intelligent. She seems to see right through one, displays authority and determination, and she does not let herself be taken aback. She has a caustic tongue, when the talk is about things of which she disapproves, and surely it is unpleasant to fall out with her. But her behaviour is correct, and with her hoarse voice she speaks a cultured Danish language.

*Gen. C.5—10.*

*A visit to the home of gen. C.7.* This woman was born at Dronninglund and was christened in the Sct. Joseph's Chapel in Horsens together with her twin-siblings elder by 1 year. One of the twins, a little girl, was left behind with the parents of her mother, while her own parents went to Sweden with the 2 other children. Their mother bore altogether 9 children, but 3 of them died in infancy. One son was left to be minded by a fisherman and his family in Sweden. He is now himself a fisherman in the same place and is doing well. The 4 other children were trained up to be artistes and travelled about with the circus of their parents. 3 of them are still travelling as artistes in Sweden and are doing well. The fourth, whom we pay a visit, tells us that she was only 10 years old, when her mother died. The following time was a severe one for the children. At the age of 18 she went to Denmark, and was confirmed in a Catholic church, after which she returned to Sweden. But shortly after her return she ran from home and went to service with a farmer's family, whom she knew from her life of vagabondage. Here she learned how to kill, brew, and weave, and when she felt that she had learned enough, she took a job in the kitchen of a large hotel in Göteborg. But one day the great widely known circus of her mother's brother came to the town, and suddenly an irresistible longing for the travelling life came over her. In a hurry she packed her things and made off from the hotel to join her uncle's circus. During the day she was a cook, and in the evening she performed as an artiste. However, with her uncle she had a rough time having to endure many severe blows, so one day she dressed up in her best clothes, ran away from the circus, and applied to the manager of the hotel, her former chief, who was kind enough to get her a job in the kitchen.

After a few years she wanted to see Denmark again. Here she met her fortune. She got married with a glazier, who at a certain time had a very good business. But the money went to his head, he grew lazy, began to drink, and to associate with other women, and after 11 years of married life she divorced him. There was a son by the marriage. Later on she married a sailor, whom she loved sincerely, but he too played her false. There was talk of divorce.



but then suddenly one night he died. The cause of his death was never cleared up. Since then she has been living in rather poor circumstances. Now she receives old age pension, after having received disablement benefit for some years after an operation for a tumor in the rectum. Her home is clean and tidy, on the whole suggesting that the owner has been better off. Though her life has been a stormy one, she does not complain, but is glad that she need no longer be concerned about her daily bread, and that she has no pains. She has never gone to school, but has taught herself how to read and write. She gives the impression of being of normal intellect, and she expresses herself with an outspokenness and frankness that is but rarely met with in the "travellers." She makes an absolutely reliable impression, and she does not try to gloss over herself or her relatives. Yet she regards her mother's tribe, and probably justly, as one of the more distinguished within the race of gipsies, most of them being artistes, whereas she regards the other gipsies living in this country as beggars. She is rather good-looking, white-haired, dark-eyed, with a yellowish hue, and with a certain racial feature.

*Gen. D.1—12.* Some of these persons are very dark and outlandish to look at, and are from various sides characterized as typical gipsies. They have an ear for music and play on the guitar, the banjo, the mandolin, the harmonica, and the mouth-organ. They live by playing, but being only in part able to manage for themselves, they have received a great deal of aid in the course of time. They are very violent, and several of the sons have been convicted.

*One of the sons* tells us himself that at the age of 11 he ran away from home. For rather a long time he lived by playing and singing in the trains, but at length he got tired of it and joined the tribe again. As a child he travelled several times from one end of the country to the other without money. "Onboard the ships I always say to the captain that I am out in search of my parents, and then he can't possibly have the heart to leave me behind."

Further we are informed that at the age of 25 he was punished for theft, and later he got 5 month's imprisonment for receiving. Since then he has been a regular applicant for public aid. Occa-

sionally he performs in various places of entertainment being rather talented both as a musician and an actor. However, he seldom remains for long in the same place, generally giving notice after a short time, although the landlords are satisfied with him and would like to keep him. He gives notice under various pretexts, f. i. because his harmonica wants tuning, has been pawned, or the like, sometimes also because one of his many children has died, which really does grieve him very much.

A dealer in music-instruments calls him "a rascal," and by the offices for social relief he is characterized as "a thoroughly unreliable person." He is rude when applying for relief. The following story may serve as illustration: Once he appeared demanding aid for the payment of a great deal of debt, for various part-payments, and the like. As, however, he had just had a rather considerable income, it was denied him, whereupon he declared that "he should certainly make the Municipal Corporation fork out;" he would pawn his harmonica so that he could earn no money at all, then the municipality would have to redeem it. He did so for 90 Kr., and some time later the municipality actually had to redeem it. When one of his children died free burial place, coffin, and burial were granted him together with 30 Kr. for the transportation of the dead body. However, he used the 30 Kr. for something else, after which he applied for aid for the transportation of the child. The municipal authorities inquired into the matter, and as the coffin-maker promised to make the necessary arrangement, the application for cash was refused. At once he went to the editor of a newspaper to complain of the treatment given him with the result that the paper in question brought a long article about "the scandalous sufferings of the unemployed."

His wife is not a gipsy. They have 6 children, 1 of whom is attending a school for children with defect of speech. The children have coal black hair; they have an extraordinary ear for music, are kind and quick-witted, liked by their school-fellows. They have never betrayed any signs of unreliableness towards their teachers.

*Conclusion.* As to this family we have omitted a more thorough report of gen. B.4. and her descendants, because this family is

so well-known within the world of artistes and has attained such a position that it must be said to have dissociated itself quite from the usual gipsy milieu. However, the family as a whole may be characterized by distinctly artistic powers, in the case of the other branches manifesting themselves particularly in the field of music.

## FAMILY No. IX

Besides the families described under number I to VIII, there is in Denmark yet another gipsy family. Its members have in the course of time run several small circuses and wild-beast shows, and some of the younger members are still keeping up these traditions. Besides a few branches are known to be in a fair way to assimilate.

However, it has proved impossible for us to obtain as good information on the family as would be necessary for the making of a useful pedigree. One of the causes is that the family name resembles a very common Danish name so much that the members cannot be identified with comparative certainty in the various registers. Another cause is that the family seems to be scattered all over the country.

Accordingly we have given over the attempt at entering further into the fate of the family, the more so because it appears from the information in hand that it does not differ much from that of other gipsy families.

## CHAPTER X

# THE RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATION

We have now finished the objective description of the conditions of the Danish gipsies, and in this chapter we shall then try to account for our view of them. For the sake of lucidness we shall do so by discussing the following 3 questions:

1. Is it a biologically delimited group within the population, and in case it is, which are the characterologic traits that distinguish it from the average population?
2. How is the social prognosis of these families?
3. Is it possible to render any aid to the authorities in the form of advice with regard to their treatment of the individual members of the families?

The first question must in our opinion be answered in the affirmative, with the addition, however, that the originally very characteristic gipsy families are nowadays in a fair way to disappear on account of their marrying into the native population. Genotypically the original immigrants were no doubt totally different from the resident Danish population. This appears already from their outlandish exterior, and from their own feeling of not belonging to the proper, resident society. To this may be added the powerful milieu-factors, which are conditioned by their special mode of living and view of moral and social questions. The special mentality, which is to-day the chief characteristic of the families is due to the genotype coupled with the milieu.

As it appears from the preceding chapter, the gipsies must in the general be regarded as mentally sound. We have not found one

single case of endogenous psychosis, but occasionally we have met with cases of genuine epilepsy. A comparatively great number must be regarded as feeble-minded or mentally backward. We have not found in our material the special form of feeble-mindedness, "ge-tarntes Schwachsinn," described by Ritter, which should be characterized as reduced intellect combined with a well developed faculty for managing in ordinary life, and a certain slyness. Indeed some of the children that in ordinary conversation seem to be quick-witted and "to know the ropes" show a surprisingly low intelligence quotient. But we are of opinion that this low I.Q. is due to their lacking power of concentration and to the fact that they have not attended school regularly.

Finally there is the question whether the gipsies should be regarded as psychopaths. In advance this idea seems to us rather absurd, it being tantamount to the fact that we should then actually have to regard nearly all members of a population as psychopaths.

Helweg writes in his legal psychiatry that we speak of psychopathy in the cases in which the defect applies to "qualities as earnestness of purpose, the systematic perseverance in a purpose, on the whole the mental stability, the power of answering impressions from without by qualitatively and quantitatively adequate reactions, the power of self-control and self-estimation, of estimation of and adaptation to a situation, of reducing oneself to given rules, of resistance to undesired promptings, and similar qualities." The author points out, however, that normally such qualities vary considerably, and how to delimit the psychopathy depends entirely on the scope one gives to the normal possibility of variation. Thus f. i. mendacity must to a certain extent be regarded as a normal phenomenon.

The psyche of the gipsies differs from that of the average population on one essential point, and that is their complete lack of inclination and power to adapt themselves to normal, ordered conditions, manifesting itself chiefly in their disinclination to settle for long in one place and to have permanent regular work. But they can hardly for that reason be called psychopaths. Thus Helweg writes that it is not proper that we should set up a lacking power of social adaptation as the decisive, definitional criterion for the presence of psychopathy.

Another distinctive feature of the gipsy is his unreliableness.

He does not, like those suffering from mythomania, lie only to make himself conspicuous, although, indeed, he has a vivid imagination. Nor does he lie like the amoral psychopath, who does not know a truth from a lie. But he lies, when he finds it expedient, and when he thinks that he may profit by it without causing any particular harm, and without himself getting into difficulties.

There is no great criminality among the Danish gipsies; but it cannot be denied, however, that they are often guilty of minor offences. The question is, however, whether this is not to a great extent due to the unfavourable influence of milieu, the poverty of their homes, the desultory education, the changing of school, or no school-attendance at all, to which they have been used from their very childhood, and besides to bad company in growing up and later in life.

If we should place the gipsies within a definite group of psychopaths it must be that of the spineless, because in spite of an excellent power of apprehension they are unable to concentrate for long together, for which reason they do not learn anything properly, but manage with some smattering of various trades and arts. When they are placed in situations, they manage well for a little time, but the first difficulty they meet with will make them give it all up. Still the definition is not quite right. The gipsies are not actually lazy, many of them, particularly among the women, are even very industrious. Only they cannot submit to being ordered about by others; they want to be their own employers and to decide for themselves when and where to work.

Naturally there are among the gipsies individuals that must be regarded as psychopaths. But the majority cannot in our opinion be characterized as such, as they cannot be said to present any real defects. They have other social views of life than the population in general, and they live their life outside the community, under no concern whatever.

Characteristic of the gipsies are their polite and friendly manners towards strangers combined with a pronounced faculty for evading all unpleasant, compromising questions. Their carriage and bearing is free, out of all proportion to the proletarian standing at which they find themselves materially and economically.

In comparison with what is the case with gipsies in other coun-

tries, there is surprisingly little criminality among those found here in Denmark. Two explanations of this fact are possible. The former is this that the originally immigrated individuals may have belonged to the most inoffensive and peaceable of their race. In this connection we must remember that the families are but few; but on the other hand the names of numerous members of these families are found in the old Schleswig-Holstein punishment registers. The latter possibility is this that the peaceful and to poor people favourable conditions of living in Denmark may have had a mitigating effect also on the gipsy passions, and that in spite of their poor origin and often abnormal mental equipment the men and women married into the gipsy families may genotypically have been of a quality that was not nearly so bad as that of f. i. the German families of vagabonds and criminals. Their ancestors are in the majority of the cases ordinary labourers or peasants.

A consequence of the gipsy mentality, probably due to endogenous causes, is that if a member of these families has at a grown-up age preserved his fondness for the travelling life, it will but rarely be possible to make him settle down, and it will be quite in vain to spend time and money on this purpose.

As to the second question, that of the social prognosis of the gipsy families, it must be said to depend on whether in future the gipsies will intermarry or mix with the native population. Among the younger members the tendency lies absolutely in direction of the latter contingency, and within nearly all the families there are branches which have already in this way become so much assimilated that they do not differ from the average population in this country. In the first few generations there are often seen relapses to the bad habits of their ancestors, such as the wandering spirit, or the committing of minor offences. Although the majority of the gipsies now living are still maintaining the traditional mode of living of the families, there does not seem to us to be any doubt that in the course of 3 to 4 generations they will have assimilated to a very great extent. Presumably the previously mentioned increasing difficulty in carrying on their traditional trades also contributes to the assimilation. A condition that this process of assimilation may pass off in peace is that no renewed immigration of pure gipsies is going on. Within the past 30 years there seems only twice



to have come genuine gipsies to Denmark, in both cases in the manner that a man took his wife in one of the neighbouring countries and brought her home.

This leads us on to the question as to the best and for all parties least painful manner for the community to come to terms with these troublesome citizens.

First of all renewed immigration should be avoided. This important measure has already been taken through the act of 1875, and we can only recommend a strict observance of its provisions.

But the gipsies who have become naturalized in this country do not come under this act, so accordingly they must be treated in another way. In considering the problem of these gipsies one should probably start from the two facts mentioned above.

1. It is hardly possible to change the habits of life of those now living.
2. Complete assimilation will occur in the near future; till then the families will, however, each year cost the community a considerable sum of money. But they are no danger to public security.

The easiest and most radical solution is naturally the one which German writers (Ritter, Dubitscher) go in for, that is sterilization of all individuals displaying asocial conduct. But we most earnestly advise against this course of action in all cases in which there are no such indications as fall under the acts of sterilization now in force. Here we think particularly of feeble-mindedness, which may obviously indicate such an operation. First the principle of sterilizing a person simply because he cannot or will not adapt himself to the prevailing social system seems to us so dangerous in its consequences that for this reason alone we must stand aloof from it. Besides they are quite contrary to the humane points of view that have hitherto been in force in this country, and which we regard as being so valuable that we find them worth the expenses attended with them. Secondly the families have in spite of all shown that they are capable of fostering citizens that are just as good as the average of the population. In this connection we should also consider whether the occupation of the gipsies, that

of travelling about as circus performers and the like, has been of no value whatever to the population in general. There is no doubt that especially in former days their arrival meant to the small village societies a whiff from the world without, and in the course of time these gipsies have amused no end of people with their various greater or smaller accomplishments. A community must also be able to afford to spend a little money on amusements in the midst of all the sedate respectability.

To the student of eugenics the question suggests itself whether the admixture of gipsy blood in the Danish race may involve serious consequences. Roughly speaking we may imagine two results to come out of such crossings. One is the appearance of a number of asocial, incompetent individuals, the other the rise of a people that combines stability with the greater imagination and resourcefulness of the gipsies. Both possibilities will involve greater or smaller deviations from the normal average. Accordingly the eugenic points of view may be expressed in the manner, which has also been pointed out by Kemp, that to a society which wants its subjects to be as far as possible homogeneous and of one view, any admission of such groups of people must be unwished for, whereas the society will have no great scruples, if it regards the interaction of a very great number of heterogeneous individualities as a benefit to the nation. Under Danish conditions this latter discussion is, however, chiefly of academic importance, the problem being so small in this country.

As we must thus in our opinion oppose the idea of solving the gipsy problem by means of drastic interference, our task must be first to further as much as possible the natural process of assimilation, and secondly to see to it that the people whose mode of living it has proved impossible to change are to the greatest possible extent put in the way of managing for themselves by their own trades, and that their taking advantage of the public funds is limited.

The former point causes the greatest difficulty, and it is hardly possible that we should be able to do much in furtherance of this process. We are, however, of opinion that it would be of some importance, if the authorities would give a little more attention than has hitherto been done to a proper schooling of the children, at

least in winter, when the families are not travelling about. It might also in a few cases be of good effect, if teachers and others, who come into touch with the children would try to induce them to serve a proper apprenticeship to some trade or other, after they have left school, and to help those who would agree to it in finding such an apprenticeship. However, we do not think it wise to put any constraint on them in this direction, as that would probably only make life a torment to the persons involved, and be a waste of time and money for the public authorities.

Towards those who have proved that they prefer the travelling life the authorities ought in our opinion to take the attitude that to the greatest possible extent they get them trading licences, fair licenses, and licenses to singing and playing in the court-yards, and they ought not to punish them for minor offences by withdrawing these licences. Though the authorities cannot of course put up with actual begging, we are of opinion that in this case they ought to be broad-minded with regard to their interpretation of the notion. That will probably be the cheapest plan for the community. No doubt it will likewise pay to give them a helping hand now and then in the form of aid for the purchase of goods, and for mending of their fair implements. Through a fair and reasonable regulation of the above-mentioned facts it will be possible to reduce very considerably the public expenses to these people.

With regard to the attitude of the public aid authorities towards the gipsies we are of opinion that it would be expedient for the local bodies to which they have a particular fondness for applying to concentrate their cases under one single official, who must have a comprehensive view of the family connection. He should be kind, but firm towards them, should closely control their various allegations and give special attention to the possibility of rendering help to self-help. If moreover he has a faculty for winning their confidence, much would be gained.

In this connection we would like to say a good word for the caravan wagon. It is to many gipsies the natural place of domicile; and if it is in good repair and is placed in such a way that there is left room for privy and refuse heap, it is no doubt a far more healthy dwelling place than the miserable flats in the back premises that many families are otherwise referred to.

If such measures are taken in a humane way, life will be made easier for the gipsies, and the burdens of the community will be comparatively small in the 3 to 4 generations that will pass before the last gipsy, like the last "nightman," will have disappeared from the high roads of Denmark.

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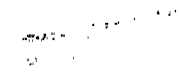
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W. Neiser and H. Kirschner print.



Plate III: The elder Generations (Gen. C-D)



W. Nielsen and A. Andersen photo



Plate IV: Daily life in the Gipsy camps (Gen. C).



W. Nilsen phot.









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